a great degree to be ascribed to the pains which the Indians take to instil at an early age honest and virtuous principles upon the minds of their children, and to the method which they pursue in educating them. This method I will not call a system; for systems are unknown to these sons of nature, who, by following alone her simple dictates, have at once discovered and follow without effort that plain obvious path which the philosophers of Europe have been so long in search of. 869

The first step that parents take towards the education of their children, is to prepare them for future happiness, by impressing upon their tender minds, that they are indebted for their existence to a great, good and benevolent Spirit, who not only has given them life, but has ordained them for certain great purposes. That he has given them a fertile extensive country well stocked with game of every kind for their subsistence, and that by one of his inferior spirits he has also sent down to them from above corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans and other vegetables for their nourishment; all which blessings their ancestors have enjoyed for a great number of ages. That this great Spirit looks down upon the Indians, to see whether they are grateful to him and make him a due return for the many benefits he has bestowed, and therefore that it is their duty to show their thankfulness by worshipping him, and doing that which is pleasing in his sight. 869 776

This is in substance the first lesson taught, and from time to time repeated to the Indian children, which naturally leads them to reflect and gradually to understand that a being which hath done such great things for them, and all to make them happy, must be good indeed, and that it is surely their duty to do something that will please him. They are then told that their ancestors, who received all this from the hands of the great Spirit, and lived in the enjoyment of it, must have been informed of what would be most pleasing to this good being, and of 869

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Thus their Almighty Creator is always before their eyes on all important occasions. They feel and acknowledge his supreme power. They also endeavour to propitiate him by outward worship, or *sacrifices.*

These are religious solemnities, intended to make themselves acceptable to the Great Spirit, to find favour in his sight, and obtain his forgiveness for past errors or offences. It is not, as some white persons would lead us to believe, that knowing the Great Spirit to be good, they are under no apprehensions from his wrath, and that they make sacrifices to the evil spirit, believing him alone to be capable of doing them hurt. This cannot be true of a people, who, as I have already said in another part, hold it as a fixed principle "that good and evil can-"not and must not be united," who declare and acknowledge the great and good Spirit to be "all powerful," and the evil one to be "weak and limited in power;" who rely alone on the goodness of the author of their existence, and who, before every thing, seek by all the means in their power to obtain his favour and protection. For, they are convinced, that the evil spirit has no power over them, as long as they are in favour with the good one, and to him alone, acknowledging his continued goodness to them and their forefathers, they look for protection against the *Devil*, and his inferior spirits.

It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior *Mannittos*, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he, like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests; these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report to him what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger.

Thus I have frequently witnessed Indians, on the approach of a storm or thunder-gust, address the Mannitto

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776 of the air, to avert all danger from them; I have also seen the Chippeways, on the Lakes of Canada, pray to 782 the Mannitto of the waters, that he might prevent the swells from rising too high, while they were passing over them. In both these instances, they expressed their acknowledgment, or shewed their willingness to be grateful, by throwing tobacco in the air, or strewing it on the waters.

There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude. Thus, when in the night, an owl is heard sounding its note, or calling to its mate, some person in the camp will rise, and taking some *Glicanican*, or Indian tobacco, will strew it on the fire, thinking that the ascending smoke will reach the bird, and that he will see that they are not unmindful of his services, and of his kindness to them and their ancestors. This custom 773 originated from the following incident, which tradition has handed down to them.

776 It happened at one time, when they were engaged in a war with a distant and powerful nation, that a body of their warriors was in the camp, fast asleep, no kind of danger at that moment being apprehended. Suddenly, the great "Sentinel," over mankind, the *owl*, sounded the alarm; all the birds of the species were alert at their posts, all at once calling out, as if saying: "Up! up! Danger! Danger!" Obedient to their call, every man jumped up in an instant; when, to their surprise, they found that their enemy was in the very act of surrounding them, and they would all have been killed in their sleep, if the owl had not given them this timely warning.

776 But, amidst all these superstitious notions, the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, 782 is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are 782 [184] not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other 114 writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, 783 that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, [262] and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there 782 are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail [727] to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

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* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

IV. DELAWARE IDEOLOGY

Religion and Magic

Of all the aspects of Delaware culture, religious ceremonies and beliefs have received the most extended treatment by anthropologists because this segment of culture has been better preserved than any other. F. G. Speck's *A Study of the Delaware Big House Ceremony* described the central religious ceremony of the Delawares, and his *Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Dances, and Feasts* added to this account and described the minor ceremonies.[1] M. R. Harrington's *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*, and his "Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture" dealt with the Big House Ceremony and a number of minor beliefs and practices.[2] It is hardly necessary, then, to present an extended treatment of Delaware religion; instead, particular attention will be paid to the early historic religious beliefs and practices. 114

Supernatural Beings

The Delawares believed in a single, all powerful, originally creative, supernatural power. He was called Gicelamu'kaong, which means "Great Spirit," "Great Power," or "Creator."[3] This supernatural figure was a remote one, somewhat removed from the affairs of men. He had appointed a number of agents who created the world and all upon it. He was capable of endowing any matter, either animate or inanimate, with supernatural attributes or power.[4] Lesser anthropomorphic deities, enjoying their authority through this primal power, were the Sun, the Moon, the Seven Thunders, the Four Directions, the Earth Mother, and the Mask Being, or Living Solid Face. The Sun and the Moon were addressed as Elder Brother, the former having the duty of providing light, and the latter that of protecting and guarding people at night.[5] Our Mother, the Earth, was Sun's sister, but not Moon's sister, and was charged with caring for and feeding the people.[6] The Seven Thunders, who combined features of men and birds, provided rain for crops, protected men from various water monsters, and were responsible for lightning.[7] The deities of the cardinal directions were associated with the wind and the 776●

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[1] Speck, 1931, 1937.

[2] Harrington, 1921; 1913, pp. 208-35.

[3] Penn, 1882, p. 244; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 244-45; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128; Speck, 1931, p. 26; Harrington, 1921, pp. 18-24; Trowbridge MS. gives a literal translation, "Keshaallemoonkunk, he who created us by his thought" (Kinietz, 1946, p. 88). The Christian Delaware religious texts use Kitannowit, "great spirit," rather than this term.

[4] De Laet, 1909, pp. 49-50; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 244-45.

[5] Brainerd, 1884, p. 345; Trowbridge MS; Harrington, 1913, p. 226; Speck, 1931, pp. 29-33; M.B.

[6] Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; O.A., J.T., M.B.

[7] Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; 1921, pp. 29-30; M.B.

776 weather.[8] The Mask Being was the only deity who was made concrete by human impersonation. Brainerd saw this deity impersonated and gave a vivid description:

> 776 532 He made his appearance in his pontifical garb, which was a coat of boar [bear] skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bearskin stockings; and a great wooden face painted, the one half black, and other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bearskin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced towards me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music in his idolatrous worship; which was a dry tortoise-shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen. No one would have imagined from his oppearance (sic) or actions, that he could have been a human creature, if they had not had some intimation of it otherwise. When he came near me, I could not but shrink away from him although it was then noonday, and I knew who it was: his appearance and gestures were so prodigiously frightful.[9]

The Mask Being was the guardian of animals and in recent times took part in the Big House Ceremony. It was this masked figure with which children were threatened.[10] The stone faces found in archaeological sites attributed to the Delawares bear a striking resemblance to it.[11] Speck said that they "may be thought of as prototypes of the small wooden and corn-husk masks still serving the Iroquois as 'guardians of health' and the Delawares as personal charms."[12] A multitude of lesser deities included Doll Beings, Tornado, Mother Corn, Snow Boy, Comet, animal spirits, plant spirits, and local genii.[13]

787 Approaches to the Supernatural

776 The principal means by which an individual got in contact with supernatural powers was in a dream or vision:

> Such dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.[14]

Not only was the guardian spirit the guiding force in an individual's life, the secret of whatever success he had, and aid in time of trouble, but the public recitation of visions was the basis for the major religious ceremonials.[15] Subsequent to their initial vision men might have repeated contacts with their spiritual guardians. An informant's grandfather had multiple visions, and the account is reproduced here to demonstrate the type of vision and vision quest current in the nineteenth century; it probably is similar to earlier ones: 787 776

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[8] Harrington, 1921, p. 25.

[9] Brainerd, 1884, pp. 184-85. Luckenbach, 1938, p. 451, also described this masked figure.

[10] Harrington, 1921, pp. 31-34; Speck, 1931, pp. 61-62; 1950, pp. 32-34; L.F., O.A.

[11] Skinner, 1920, p. 5; Harrington, 1921, p. 36.

[12] Speck, 1950, p. 45.

[13] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43-51.

[14] Trowbridge MS.

> My grandfather was hunting one time as a boy. He wounded a deer, but it got away. He was sad and felt very bad. He cried and cried. He happened to be standing near a grove of young pine trees. The pines sang a beautiful song to him. He stopped crying and listened to their singing and the things they were telling him. The song was so beautiful that he no longer cared that the deer had escaped. Later he had a second vision of a large bone in the sky. In a third vision he saw a serpent with twelve eyes. This serpent could see everything. His fourth vision was of tiny babies and of unborn babies. All the babies were glad to see him. When he was mature he became a shaman and excelled at curing the diseases of childhood. (M.B.)

Young men obtained guardian spirits by sacrifice, fasting, and isolation, as has been noted. The supplicant tried to cajole and flatter some supernatural being into pitying him and hence safeguarding him. Zeisberger, who understood the young man's attitude, said:

> Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of the wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury.[16]

Guardian spirits were usually animals or birds, but could be plants, any of the deities, inanimate objects, or ghosts. Trowbridge mentioned as guardian spirits bear, wolf, dog, tree, cornstalk, "or anything else which the imagination can conceive"; Zeisberger, the moon, owls and other birds, fish, and "ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants."[17] As Benedict has shown for the Central Algonkians, the Delawares felt that animal guardian spirits were ancestral prototypes rather than the animals themselves. Thus, guardian spirit animals were not necessarily taboo as food.[18] 776

The apparition that appeared in visions and in other hallucinations not only indicated what sort of supernatural being he was, but foretold the future of the one to whom he appeared — whether or not he was to

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[15] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33; Trowbridge MS; Harrington, 1913, p. 227; Speck, 1931, pp. 51-54.

[16] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 127; Harrington, 1921, pp. 67-77, gave examples of a number of visions.

[17] Trowbridge MS; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132.

[18] Benedict, 1923, p. 49.

776 become a shaman, chief, warrior, a person of riches, one with many relatives, or a failure.[19] The most unfortunate persons were those who had no guardian spirit. After one was granted a guardian spirit he commonly made an amulet or fetish. Frequently this was either a representation of the human figure or a stone or clay effigy of the human head. It also might be claws or teeth of an animal or bird.[20] Lindestrom said:

> They consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it.... In this their god they have such a strong faith, that the night he dreams about him, he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to....[21]

Although most of our information about the vision quest is relatively recent, there seems to be no reason why it should not be valid for prehistoric and early historic times.

782 Apart from the influence that individuals wielded over supernatural powers as a consequence of obtaining a guardian spirit, favor could be curried and influence exerted through sacrifice, primarily by burning flesh and tobacco, but also by dances and songs. Sacrifices of first fruits were commonly mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. Penn said of these:

> 782 224 Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part [of their worship] is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another.[23]

Trowbridge said:

> 782 241 When the ice is about to leave the rivers they make an offering of Tobacco with a wooden bowl of parched corn, by placing it on the surface and telling their grandfather, as they call it, that they leave him a pipe to smoke and something to eat on his journey. They sometimes make this offering of tobacco to obtain a safe voyage across the ice and for the same reason they throw it into the water when danger is apprehended. When they go to hunt, at the first encampment an offering of tobacco is made by burning, to the seven masters of the game.[24]

789 There were also many magical methods by which supernatural powers were influenced, but they are not well recorded in the literature. There are some indications from modern ethnographic data which

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[19] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 612.

[20] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33.

[21] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 207; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141, stated the same thing.

[22] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 208; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; M.B.

[23] Penn, 1882, p. 244.

[24] Trowbridge MS.

would at death go to some good place where conditions would 771
be better than here, where there would be a superfluity of every-
thing and a happy life of joy and dancing. On the contrary,
whoever lived an evil life would arrive at no good place but
have to wander about sad and unhappy. Hence nothing is so 771
terrible and awful to them as death, because they do not know 821
how it will be after this life nor whither they shall go. When-
ever they think of death they are filled with anxiety, but rather 781
than consider how they ought to live they seek to rid them-
selves of thoughts of death. They fear the thunderbolt, because
it occasionally strikes and shatters the trees, but they seek to
disguise their fear. Yet they believe that the Deity is graciously
and mercifully disposed towards men, because he imparts power
to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall and the sun to
shine and gives game to man for his support. Indeed, as to
fish and deer they imagine them given particularly to the Indians
and not so much to the whites for the Indians were created to
sustain themselves by the chase and the whites by the work of
their hands. There are indeed some among them who pretend
to be able to bring rain when there has been drought, and such
a person knowing that the women, whose business it is to care
for the plantations, are anxious for rain shows his cleverness
in deceiving the people. Noticing from cloudy appearances early
in the morning that it is likely to rain during the day, he will
tell some one, that if tobacco or something else that he wishes
is given him he will bring rain. The party so informed will tell
the women, who in their joy contribute each a little and bring
the fellow what he desires. The latter goes to some lonely place,
draws a circle on the ground, makes a cross within it and puts
tobacco, a pumpkin and some red coloring into it as well, seats
himself, sings and shouts so that he may be heard, continuing
if possible until it begins to rain. Even sensible Indians believe
that he has brought the rain because under the circumstances it
generally rains. In case the rain fails to come he makes promises
for another day.

They believe God to be almighty and able to do as he pleases. 776
Hence in times past they brought sacrifices and still do this

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

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776 making their offerings not directly to the Deity but to things of his creation, as will later appear. No one has ever heard that they have sacrificed to the devil, whom together with all evil spirits they abhor, believing that all evil comes from them, even as all good comes from God.

They seem to have had no idea of the devil until in modern [777] times preachers arose among them who proclaimed that there was such a being, having secured their knowledge from the whites. They have no very definite conception of him but consider him to be a very powerful spirit, able to work much harm and unable to do any good. Many say also that Indians would never be claimed by the devil, however wicked they might be in the world, because he existed only for the whites who wrought evil. They declare that he is not to be found among the Indians but only among the white people, for if he were among the Indians they would long since have discovered him, and their ancestors would have told them about him. They did know, however, about good and evil spirits which appears from this: when crimes had been committed, the guilty ones laid the blame on an evil spirit who had seduced them. They have also been accustomed to admonish one another in time of war not to give ear to the evil spirit but to the good spirit who counseled peace. They also knew nothing of Hell, believing only that 771 wicked men would go to no good place after this life. They have no proper term for such a place other than *Machtandonwinek* which means, with the devil, *Machtando* meaning the Evil One. They have never had regularly appointed priests, the oldest men having usually performed the sacrifices, admonished the people to good life and conduct, warned them against immorality, murder and violence, if they would be happy, attain to great age and after death get to the good place. How much this meant among blind savages who were dead in sins and had not the ability to withstand evil and vice may be readily imagined. It is possible that the admonitions of the aged availed to the extent of restraining wickedness, so that it did not break forth as it does at the present time. It is undoubtedly true that there were formerly fewer vices than now. Of some forms of indulgence they know nothing, for example of strong drink,

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910

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D 773 who had on the back of the turtle escaped the general destruction.

Concerning their origin no trace of tradition is to be found among the Indians. I 773 From some old Mingoes I heard that they believed themselves to have come from under the earth, where they had lived before. A badger had worked his way to the surface, seen the beautiful land and returned at once to announce to them what he had seen. They had been so pleased with his account that they left their subterranean abode forthwith and settled in this beautiful land. From their habit of speaking in figure or parable, it may be concluded that by this account they mean to convey the idea that they originally came from the other side of the earth. Others say that they came from under the water, which may mean much the same thing. N 773 The tradition of the Nantikoks is that seven Indians had suddenly seen themselves seated at the sea-side. Whether they had come over the sea or been there created they did not know. Descendants of these Indians peopled the land. Others, again, claim that the first human being fell from heaven. This was a woman, cast out from the upper regions by her husband. Shortly after her fall from heaven she was delivered of twins, from whom the inhabitants of this land are descended. They believe that in the realm above them is a world of men much like this, whence the Indians originally came.

D ● 776 787 They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos.* If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance

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and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.

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About thirty years ago[203] preachers appeared among the Indians. They pretended to have received revelations from above, to have traveled into heaven and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their journey, but all agreed in this: that no one could enter heaven without great danger, for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. Here the devil lies in ambush and snatches at every one who is going to God. They came first to the Son of God and through him to God himself, with whom they pretend to have conversed concerning the Indians and by whom they were commanded to instruct their people. Thus the Indians were for the first time informed that there was a heaven where was the dwelling of God and a hell that of the devil. Presumably they got this knowledge from the whites. Some of the preachers confessed that they had not reached the dwelling of God but had approached near enough to hear the cocks crow and see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Others that they had approached the Son of God and then returned.

These teachers marked off on a piece of parchment made of deerskin two roads, both leading to heaven, one designated by God for the Indians, the other for the white people. They claim that the latter had to go a great way round about and the road for the Indians was at that time the shortest, but now, since the white people had blocked up the road for the Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Further, there were paintings of heaven and hell upon the parchment as also the figure of a balance to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude parchment is, as it were, their Bible, and lies spread before them when they preach for the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers and it is very evident that their chief aim is to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people. It is certain that their preaching has had this effect, for about this time war broke out between Indians and whites there having been no such war before.

They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their

796 At a third kind of feast ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them and stand before the house with their faces turned toward the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors. They turn toward the east because they believe that God dwells beyond the rising of the sun. At the same time much wampum is given away. This is thrown on the ground and the young people scramble for it. Afterward it is ascertained who secured the most. This feast is called *'ngammuin*, the meaning of which they themselves are unable to give.

A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious
● [776] spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything.

A fifth kind of festival is held in honor of fire which the
[776] Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtuzin*, meaning "to perspire." A sweating-oven is built in the midst
796 of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These twelve poles represent twelve
343 *Manittos*, some of these being creatures, others plants. These
[776] they run into the ground, tie together at the top, bending them toward each other; these are covered entirely with blankets, joined closely together, each person being very ready to lend his blanket, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After the meal or sacrifice, fire is made at the entrance of the oven and twelve large stones, about the size of human heads, are heated and placed in the oven. Then twelve Indians creep into it and
[276] remain there as long as they can bear the heat. While they are inside twelve pipes full of tobacco are thrown, one after another, upon the hot stones which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate those confined inside. Some one may also walk around the stones singing and offering tobacco, for tobacco is offered to fire. Usually, when the twelve men emerge from the oven, they fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole buck-skin with the head and antlers is raised upon a pole, head and antlers resting on the pole, before which the

776 offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and
782 bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

769 To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

765 Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

776 The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring
773 offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

DELAWARE MEDICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

THEORIES ON THE CAUSES OF DISEASE.

THE DELAWARE, like so many preliterate peoples, share concepts of a similar character concerning the causes of disease (Clements, 1932). 753 Certain maladies are attributed to the presence of some evil spirit in the body, which in turn is believed to be [754] the work of a sorcerer; others are thought due to the patients' iniquities while a few result from an encounter with an apparition. Failure to obey the laws of nature is the reason most frequently cited by Wi·tapanóxwe for the increase of disease among the Delaware. He said, in part, "In ancient times there was but little sickness among the Indians. The Delaware were greatly blessed because we always kept up our ceremonies and observed the rules of right living.[1] The Indian was healthy because he ate only clean, pure food and lived close to nature. Then came the new people with their strange ways and food, and dreadful diseases."

Paraphrasing the statements of the informant, it is implied that 177 with the onset and steady progress of Europeanization, the Indian was obliged to relinquish many of the ways of his accustomed mode of life. He was forced to seek new territories in order to escape the alien influences that were being forced upon him. Like the wild game, the Delaware fled to more remote regions because their former environment had become so thoroughly contaminated. At this time, it is said, the dwarfs and other non-human folk had safety and seclusion in the [786] rocky cliffs. Certain plants no longer reproduced and grew. Those Indians who clung tenaciously to the teachings of their elders were greatly blessed by the Creator who guided them in visions as of old. From the conservative viewpoint of Wi·tapanóxwe, individuals of a weaker "intellect," were unable to cope with such adverse conditions and were swept away by the devastating effects of acculturation.

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[1] Reference may be made to a recent paper of A. I. Hallowell (1939) in which he has shown that "sin" is considered a potent causation of disease among the Saulteaux Indians of the Lake Winnipeg region—EDITOR.

753 The following examples are typical of the ideas which the present-day Oklahoma Delaware express in their rationalization of the causes of various maladies and physical deformities. Rheumatism, which the Delaware call by a term meaning "old people's disease," is attributed to unclean habits of living during youth. Scrofula is described by the Delaware phrase meaning "matter around the neck." If a person indulges in profanity, he may develop this condition.

It is said that congenital malformation rarely occurs among the Indians. Such physical abnormalities are attributed to the power of malevolent spirits which afflicted the child because of his parents' failure to fulfill tribal obligations by keeping up certain ceremonies bequeathed to them. Such a physical handicap, however, did not keep an individual from leading a useful life, for he was otherwise blessed. The informant
[826] added, "Sometimes the weakest person is chosen by the Creator to be powerful in mind. He does that as a matter of pity."[1]

763 Paralysis is said to be the result of an encounter with an apparition.[2]
776 If a person sees a ghost-like form approaching, he should step aside to avoid being stricken with paralysis. According to Wi·tapanóxwe, "an apparition in passing by is felt as a slight wind. Sometimes what appears to be a cloud is seen floating along the road and if allowed to touch a person, will cause a stroke." Occasionally a fire is observed to start at the bottom of a tree, blaze up to the top, and then disappear. The informant warned against attempting to strike at such a flame inasmuch as it would result in fatal sickness to the person or to a member of his family.

Wi·tapanóxwe relates the following incident of a personal encounter with an apparition. "We were just young boys then, my brother and I, and we were riding home one afternoon just before sundown. As we rode along I noticed something in the middle of the road, and it seemed to be coming toward us. It had the appearance of a large animal but I could not see its form distinctly. Naturally, I was a little bewild-

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[773] [1] Delaware mythology reiterates the theme of the weakling child vanquishing his powerful opponents through the weapon of shrewd wits over brute strength

[2] Zeisberger (no date, p. 131) says in regard to apparitions: "Wandering spirits and ghosts they claim sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure."

753 776 ered but I did not tell my brother what I saw. It seemed to come nearer and nearer to us but as we drew close, the thing disappeared suddenly into the woods. I asked my brother if he had seen the strange object but he replied that he had not. When we reached home I told my mother what I had seen and she warned us never to follow a ghost like that as it would lead us astray and finally to a pile of bones."

[787] It may be of interest to note here that at times several people might see the same ghost and "feel" it pass by. Such an experience is always regarded as a warning, foretelling illness, death, or some sudden event. Children are cautioned against answering the call of an unseen person as it might prove to be a "ghost-whoop." Should a child answer such a call, his jaw would become dislocated or even his entire body paralyzed. Once a hunter answered such a "ghost-whoop" and upon trying to locate it, ran into a stack of bones.[4]

753 158 The cause of insanity is attributed to the failure of a family to perform certain inherited ceremonials. Failure to continue such prescribed rites is punished by misfortune of some kind. Certain individuals are capable of exorcising people afflicted with this malady, the Indian name for which is translated as "lacking good sense." In one incident a young man believed that he saw a "mask" everywhere he went. His relatives finally resorted to a sweat doctor who entered the sweat lodge to ascertain the cause of the illness. After the ritual the doctor announced that it was due to their failure to perform regularly a ceremony which had come down in the family. In order to avert further trouble and to rid the young man of the disease, the doctor advised that the neglected feast and ceremony be performed, after which the patient became normal once more. Could anything be more in conformity with modern psycopathic practice than the preceding case! Other native terms which apply to people similarly affected are translated as "silly" or "half-witted."

171 I might also note that having in mind the prevalence of the theory that animals are the main causes of disease among the Cherokee (Mooney, 1892, p. 322), and Muskhogean peoples of the Southeast, I failed to find any evidence whatever in the mind of my informant of a similar belief among the Delaware.

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[4] Archaeologists, take note!—Editor.

of this substance. His niece was preparing it for a small child who was 787
dangerously ill. She dropped a small quantity in a cup of hot water 278
and observing it settle to the bottom, knew that the small patient would not recover. The medicine was administered as a tea, but the child died in a short time.[23]

In the making of an emetic, the necessary water should be dipped 278
from the stream *with* the current;[24] for a cathartic, *against* the current. A similar regulation applies to the gathering of bark; for use as an emetic, the bark is peeled upward; for a cathartic, downward.

Formerly there were among the Delaware, as among other tribes, 787
certain men and women whose supernatural power enabled them to com- 791
municate with the dead, to locate lost persons and objects and to foretell coming events. This practice was known as "locating or foretelling," and one who possessed such power was known as a "man who tells of the
future." The source of this extraordinary power was attributed to one's [776]
guardian spirit or in some instances to the spirits of the dead. Those who were able to communicate with the dead usually performed at night. Such a person was also thought able to cure paralysis.

Some individuals who possessed the power to stay under water for 791
a period of several hours at one time, were frequently called upon to locate a drowned person or a submerged object. One man was known to have found the body of a drowned person after months of futile searching by others. Some years later, the son of this shaman, after becoming
converted to Christianity and studying for the ministry, finally per- [787]
suaded his father to abandon the native faith and join the Christian [778]
church. In doing so the old seer, forsaken by his supernatural guardian, forfeited his magical power. Later the old man returned to the Delaware religion, but the power which enabled him to be of service to his tribesmen, was gone forever.

Wi·tapanóxwe's grandfather was one of the last of the Delaware to 791
possess such extraordinary mental and physical powers. He was able 787
to perform the submersion feat and several times located the bodies of persons who had drowned in the rivers of Kansas. On one occasion a

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[23] In reference to remedies for fever, Zeisberger observes (*op. cit.*, p. 55) that "when a patient has been given a dose, they are generally able to tell by its workings whether he will recover or die. If he does not retain the medicine it is regarded as a sign that he will hardly recover."

[24] This practice was noted by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

343 into lengths averaging from six to eight feet. The end of each of these poles is pushed into the ground to form a circular outline, five or six feet in diameter, with a somewhat wider space marking the entrance towards the north or south. The opposite ends are then bent over and lashed down to form a dome-shaped structure, over which skins, mats or blankets are laid. The fire, located in the lodge center, is built of twelve logs of hard wood. Neither driftwood nor wood obtained from a tree struck by lightning are suitable for this purpose. The use of the former, known as "gathered together by water," would tend to cause a flood, Fuel taken from a tree struck by lightning, is termed "thunder burned wood"; its use in the sweat lodge, thus angering the Lightning Spirit, would cause a severe storm.

757 The native doctor may employ any person to assist in building the fire, carrying rocks and water, or arranging mats of Indian hemp and bark for the pallet upon which the patient is laid. The latter is covered with skin robes or blankets so that only his head is exposed. After the fire has burned down sufficiently to form a bed of coals, more logs are added and the rocks, usually limestone, brought in. Twelve stones of medium size are placed in the fire. For handling them, a branch of hickory or any hard wood, about five feet long, is split at one end for use as a fork. After the rocks have become thoroughly heated, water is poured over them to produce steam. The doctor prays and sings for a period of time determined by the nature of the sickness and the strength of the patient. His song at this time is the narration of his dream-vision experience made as an appeal to the Creator and his supernatural guardian. Although the emphasis in this type of treatment is upon mental suggestion, in some instances tea made of herbs is administered by the doctor. 778

776 In addition to the lodge, poles, fire logs, and steam rocks[80] grouped in units of twelve to conform with the twelve levels of heaven, [80] symbolical significance is also attached to fire, water, and stone. These are regarded as minor deities, often referred to in terms of human consanguinity (Speck, 1931, p. 32), possessed of great healing

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[80] Brinton (1888, p. 37) in writing of the survival of curing rites among the Ontario Delaware, states: "I enquired in particular if there are any remnants of the curious adoration of the twelve sacred stones described by Zeisberger. I found that the custom of the sweat lodge still prevails. The steam is generated by pouring water on hot stones. This is done by the medicine man who is known as *Queckhsapiet*. He brings in one stone after another and pours water on it until it ceases "to sing" and invariable he uses precisely twelve stones."

776 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is ap-
778 plied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to
[755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote
795 cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men
515 and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[11]

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[11] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A cryer goes his rounds calling *pimook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

The Gods of the Delaware

776 The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128)

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented
532 by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is repre-
[292] sented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were ac-
[777] cording to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

773 776 The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainerd, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1885, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.13 [177]

The following description of the fall ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

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RELIGION AND CEREMONIES OF THE LENAPE

By M. R. Harrington

CHAPTER I

Pantheon

TO THE mind of the Lenape, all the phenomena of nature, all the affairs of mankind, in fact the entire world as we know it, is under the control of invisible beings. Some are great and powerful, others of somewhat lesser influence, and so on down to the humble spirits of plants and stones. In some, good seems to predominate, in others, evil; but most of the *manĭ'towŭk*, or spirits, seem to be, like mortals, a mixture of desirable and undesirable qualities.

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SUPREME BEING

776 All the Lenape so far questioned, whether followers of the native or of the Christian religion, unite in saying that their people have always believed in a chief *Manĭ'to*, a leader of all the gods, in short, in a Great Spirit or Supreme Being, the other *manĭ'towŭk* for the greater part being merely agents appointed by him. His name, according to present Unami usage, is *Gicelĕmû‘'kaong*‘, usually translated "great spirit," but meaning literally, "creator." Directly, or through the *manĭ'towŭk* his agents, he created the earth and everything in it, and gave to the Lenape all they possessed, "the trees, the waters, the fire that springs from flint,—everything." To him the people pray in their greatest ceremonies, and give thanks for the benefits he has given them. Most of their direct worship, however, is addressed to the *manĭ'towŭk* his agents, to whom he has given charge of the elements, and with whom the people feel they have a

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closer personal relation, as their actions 776
are seen in every sunrise and thunderstorm, and felt in every wind that blows across woodland and prairie. Moreover, as the Creator lives in the twelfth or [772]
highest heaven above the earth, it takes twelve shouts or cries to reach his ear. An account of the worship of the Creator will be given later in connection with the description of the Annual Ceremony. The Minsi had similar beliefs, but the [184]
current name for the Great Spirit in that dialect today is *Pa"tŭmawas*, interpreted "He who is petitioned," or *Kĕ"tanĭto'wĕt*, "Great Spirit."

It has been frequently stated that the 121
concept of a supreme being or chief of 776
the gods was not known among the American tribes in precolonial times, and that the "Great Spirit" concept, now widely distributed among the Indians, is entirely the result of missionary teaching. This seems to have been the case in some instances, but it is a mistake to assume such a broad statement as a general rule, on *a priori* grounds. To the

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Indian mind, the spirits or gods partook largely of the nature of mankind—-Why could not a chief of gods be as natural a concept as a chief of men? In the case of the Shawnee, the Creator or Great Spirit is usually spoken of as a woman, "Our Grandmother Paboth'kwe"—surely not a missionary idea!

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Let us trace back the Great Spirit concept among the Lenape, and find what the early writers say about it. Perhaps the earliest is in Danker and Sluyter's Journal[2] of about 1679, in which an old Indian living near Bergen, New Jersey, is quoted as saying: "The first and great beginning of all things, was Kickeron or Kickerom, who is the origin of all, who has not only once produced or made all things, but produces every day. . . . He governs all things."

William Penn,[3] in a letter dated Philadelphia, August 16, 1683, says: "They believe a God and Immortality; for they say, There is a King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls

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of the Good shall go thither, where they shall live again." Further confirmation is given by Holm[4] in his book first published in 1702, where he says, "They acknowledge a Supreme Being, a Great Spirit, who made the heavens and the earth."

Zeisberger[5] makes it even stronger, for he wrote, about 1779: "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else. This they have learned from their ancestors." Heckewelder[6] (p. 205) adds more details in his book, originally published in 1818: "Their Almighty Creator is always before their eyes on all important occasions. They feel and acknowledge his supreme power. . . . It is a part of their religious belief that there are inferior *Mannittōs*, to whom the great and good Being has given command over the elements."

Finally, in the little work ostensibly dictated by the Minsi John Wampum,[7] known as Chief Waubuno, undated, but

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probably printed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we have "The Great Spirit, whom we call in Munsee or Delaware Kaunzhe Pah-tum-owans or Kacheh Munitto (Great Spirit or Benevolent Spirit), created the Indians."

Thus we have a practically unbroken chain of authorities, including most of the best ones since 1679, all speaking of the "Great Spirit" as a well-developed concept. But Brainerd,[8] writing in 1745, is not so positive in his statements, for he speaks of their notions being "so dark and confused, that they seemed not to know what they thought themselves." He also says: "Before the coming of the white people, some supposed there were *four* invisible powers, who presided over the four corners of the earth. Others imagined the *sun* to be the *only* deity, and that all things were made by him. Others at the same time have a confused notion of a certain *body* or *fountain* of *deity*, something like the *anima mundi*." Later (p. 349) he quotes a converted Indian conjurer, who, in describing the source of his former power, tells how it came from "a great man" who lived in a "world above at a vast distance from this. The great man was clothed with the day; yea, with the brightest day he ever saw . . . this whole world . . . was drawn upon him, so that *in* him, the earth, and all things on it, might be seen."

Perhaps, as Brinton[9] suggests, the original Great Spirit of the Lenape might really be called the God of Light. Brinton, however, does not think that this Spirit of Light was of necessity a *good* spirit; still, the Lenape today who follow the native religion, acknowledging his goodness in their ceremonies, think that "the Creator wants them to do right," and there is evidence[10] that the idea of goodness has been associated with that of the Great Spirit for a long time. Assuming that the Creator of the Lenape is the God of Light, what is it that leads men to worship the source of light? Is it not the self-evident benefits connected with light? It seems to the writer that

776 goodness necessarily follows as an attribute of such a deity.

EVIL SPIRIT

The case is different with the Evil Spirit. The modern Lenape in Oklahoma make little mention of an Evil One, and James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, did not speak of such a being at all, but there is some evidence, however, to show this belief to exist among the Lenape in more recent years.

114 177 776 Some writers do indeed make frequent mention of "the Devil" as figuring in early Lenape belief, but they translate the word "manĭ'to" as having that meaning, whereas it really signifies a supernatural being, good or bad. These writers evidently regarded as "the Devil" any deity not fitting into Christian doctrine.

But the real truth seems to be that, while in ancient times certain *manĭ'towŭk*, or spirits, were supposed to work evil, the Devil (along with whiskey and other blessings) was introduced by the whites.

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The whole matter is well summed up by Loskiel[11] where he says: "Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. . . . They seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." This idea is also supported by Zeisberger[12] and Brainerd,[13] although Holm[14] seems to give contrary evidence. 776 114 177

MANĬ'TOWŬK OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that when the earth was created, and everything finished, the Creator gave the four quarters of the earth to four powerful beings, or *manĭ'towŭk*, whose duty it was to take care of these regions. These personages are the cause of the winds which blow from the different directions, with the exception of the tornado, which is thought to have a different origin. In the winter, it is said that the *manĭ'towŭk* of the north and the south are playing the game of bowl and 776 821 [773]

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776 dice, with alternating fortunes. When
821 the north wind is successful it is cold for a long time, until the south wind wins again. These *manĭ'towŭk* are called *Moxhomsa' Wähänjio'pŭng'*, Grandfather at the East; *No''oma Cawane'yŭng'*, Grandmother at the South; *Moxhomsa' Eliosi'gak*, Grandfather at the West; and *Moxhomsa' Lowane'yŭng'*, Grandfather at the North, the expression *endalŭn towi'yŭn*, said to mean "who has charge of it" being frequently added after the name.

782 These are mentioned in the ritual of the
776 Annual Ceremony, and the people often pray to them when gathering herbs or perparing medicines, at the same time offering tobacco.

171 The earliest record of this belief thus
776 far found dates from 1616, and while it
821 does not concern the Lenape proper, it illustrates a similar notion among a cognate people in Virginia. This is in Strachey's work,[18] in which he states, "The other four [gods] have no visible shape, but are indeed the four winds,

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which keep the four corners of the earth." 171
Brainerd[16] mentions the same belief as 776 ●
being an old one among the Indians he 821
knew, who were mainly Lenape, and as this was in 1745 we have at least a respectable antiquity established for "Our Grandparents at the Four Directions." Loskiel also mentions them.[17]

THE SUN

To the Sun the Creator gave the duty 776
of providing light for the people. The 821
Unami say that he is a very powerful *mani'to*, and call him *Gickokwi'ta*. They speak of him as always clothed in the finest of deerskin garments, with his face handsomely painted, and wearing red feathers in his hair. Every day he travels across the heavens from east to west, stopping for a little while at midday, then going on. At night he comes back under the earth. The Minsi, according to James Wolf, called him *Ki'zho* or *Ki'zhox*, and *Gickoniki'zho* is another Unami form of the name. When praying

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When praying

● 776 821 [782] to the Sun, the Lenape usually addressed him as "Elder Brother."

Little is found in early writings concerning the worship of the Sun, a mere mention in Brainerd,[18] and Loskiel,[19] by whom he is called "the sun or the god of the day."

THE MOON

None of my Lenape informants had much to say of the Moon, except that it was regarded as the *mani'to* charged with the duty of supplying light by night, and that it was addressed, like the Sun, as Elder Brother. It is mentioned as a god, and called the "night sun" by Loskiel.[20] This is expressed by the Unami name *Piske'weniki'zho.*

THE EARTH

776 823 Some Lenape speak of the earth itself as a *mani'to*, and call it "Our Mother" because it carries and nurtures the people, having been assigned that duty by the Creator. Others, instead of the earth itself, mention a spirit beneath or within the earth, but apparently separate from

it. The earth is mentioned in a list of 776
gods by Loskiel.[21] In some localities, 823
at least, it was addressed in the Annual Ceremony, and thanks were offered to it for the benefits it gives to man.

THUNDER BEINGS

Perhaps the most important of all the 776
subordinate *manĭ'towŭk*, excepting only 821
the Sun and possibly the Keepers of the Four Directions, were the Thunder Beings, to whom the Great Spirit gave the duty of watering the earth and protecting the people against Great Horned Water-serpents and other monsters. The Unami told me that they are called *Pethakowe'yŭk,* and are addressed as Elder Brother. They are man-like beings with wings, and always carry a bow and arrows with which they can shatter trees. When the first thunder is heard in spring, the people say, "The Spring Flying Things are coming" and it makes them feel glad to think that winter is nearly over. Some burn tobacco and pray to the Thunders at this and other times,

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and for this reason they claim that the lightning never used to strike an Indian or to destroy Indian property.

The late James Wolf related an interesting Thunder myth, which will be found in the paper on Lenape Mythology to appear later, stating that the Minsi called the Thunders *Pile'swak*, or *Pile'soak*, and believed them to exist in the form of gigantic partridges, although really persons, or rather *manĭ'towŭk.* They used to live in Niagara gorge beneath the cataract, and could sometimes be seen coming out, in the form of a cloud, in which, as it rose, a play of lightning was visible. There were said to be three bands or parties of these mysterious beings, each band consisting of three Thunders.

Zeisberger[22] says, "Thunder is a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains," and Heckewelder,[23] "Indians, at the approach of a storm or thunder gust, address the Mannitto of the air, to avert all danger from them." As a rule, however, the early writers do not seem to have noticed

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

this belief, or have included it loosely under the worship of "gods" representing the elements. 776 821

KEEPERS OF THE HEAVENS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that each of the twelve heavens, in the highest of which lives the Great Spirit, is presided over by a *manĭ'to* who serves as a messenger to repeat the prayers of men until they reach the ear of the Creator. They are represented by the carved faces upon the posts inside the temple, and are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony. I can find no mention of them in early accounts of the Lenape, however, unless the twelve gods mentioned by Loskiel,[24] most of whom have already been spoken of in this chapter, may represent the same concept. The Lenape today speak of these as being related to the Living Solid Face, who will now claim our attention. 776 [772] [532]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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MĬSINGHÂLI'KÜN, OR LIVING SOLID FACE

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The most remarkable deity of the Lenape is the Mask Being, called by the Unami *Mĭsinghâli'kün*, which was interpreted as "Living Mask," or "Living Solid Face." According to the Unami,

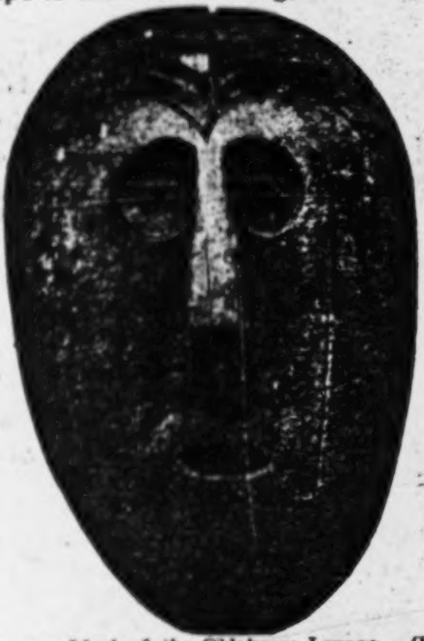

FIG. 1.—Mask of the Oklahoma Lenape. (Height, 14.5 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

this being was made guardian by the Creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and is sometimes seen riding about on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lives in a range of rocky mountains above the earth. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long dark hair like that of a bear. Unlike most of the deities in the Lenape pantheon, he is represented by a "graven image," a huge wooden mask, painted half red and half black (fig. 1); which is left in charge of some family who

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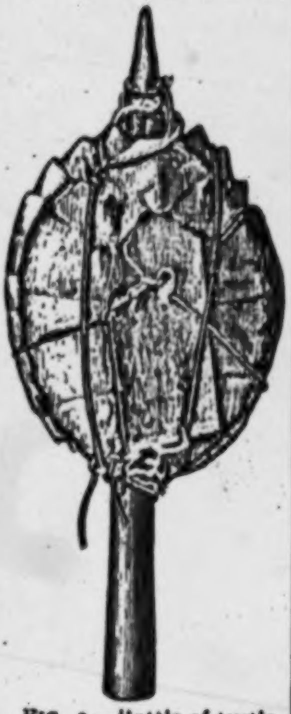

FIG. 2.—Rattle of turtle-shell used by Misi'ngʷ. (Length, 16.7 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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532 •776 778 will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time. With the mask is kept a coat and leggings of bear-skin to represent the being's hairy body, a peculiar rattle of turtleshell (fig. 2), a stick, and a bag made of bear-skin, all used by the man selected to impersonate Mīsinghâli'kūn at the various ceremonies when he is supposed to appear, and which will be described later. To the back of the mask is fastened the skin of the bear's head, which effectually conceals the head and neck of the impersonator (pl. II), while the bear's ears, projecting, add to the uncanny effect.

776 861 If any Lenape had a child who was weak, sickly, or disobedient, he would send word to the keeper of the mask that he wanted Mīsinghâli'kūn to "attend his child." It is said that it did not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of the child, so that thenceforth it would be strong and well, and would obey on the instant when asked to do anything. This effect was probably strengthened by

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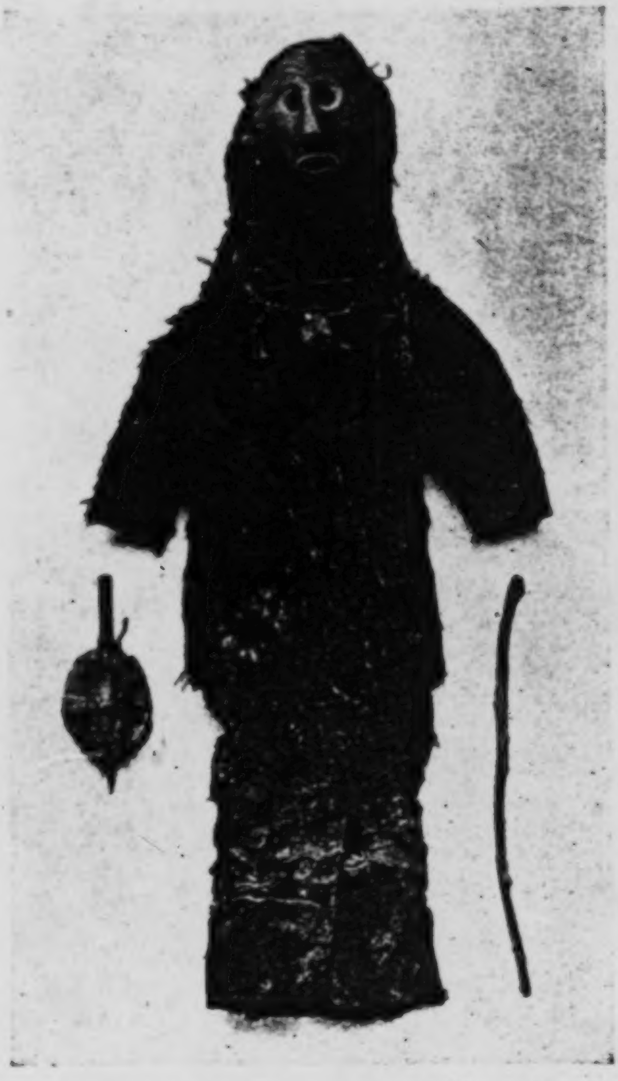

COSTUME WORN BY IMPERSONATOR OF MĬSINGHÂLI'KŬN

[Facing p. 34]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

the mother saying, "If you don't behave, 776
Mĭsi'ngʷ' will carry you off in a bag full 861
of snakes!" This seems to be the only
trace of the doctoring function of the
mask among the Unami. They also say 776
that when the keeper burns tobacco for 782
Mĭsinghâli'kŭn and asks for good luck [224]
in hunting, "it turns out that way every
time;" and if anyone has lost either
horses or cattle, whether by straying away
or through theft, he can go to the keeper
of the Mĭsi'ngʷ' with some tobacco and
recover them. All he has to do is to
explain his errand to the keeper, who in
turn informs Mĭsinghâli'kŭn that they
want him to look for these particular
animals. The loser then goes home, and
in a few days the missing stock return,
driven back by this mysterious being.
If they were tied or hobbled, it is said
that the Mĭsi'ngʷ' appears to them and so
frightens them that they break loose and
come home. Mĭsinghâli'kŭn has a special 776
ceremony, held in the spring, and 796
also participates in the Annual Ceremony
at the Big House. This Mĭsi'ngʷ' is also

* 776 called *Weopĕ'lakis*, to distinguish it from
796 another, kept by a different family, which
was not so important, and about which
little was known by my informants except
that, within their memories, it had
never appeared at the Annual Ceremony,
but that it probably had a spring dance
of its own. There is an indistinct tradition,
however, that in former times
several masks were seen at the Annual
Ceremony, and that half a day was given
up to them.

751 Miniature masks (fig. 3) were often
777 worn on the person as health or good-luck
778 charms, in former days usually suspended
from a string about the neck, but
in later times carried in the pocket. The
two large Unami masks in the Museum
of the American Indian, Heye Foundation,
are shown in pl. II and fig. 1.

776 Among the Minsi there are considerable
778 differences in belief and in practice,
their masks resembling those of the
Iroquois in many particulars. The late
James Wolf said that "Mizinkhâli'kŭn"
was supposed to live among the rocks

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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on a hill, where he was first seen, and 776
told the people how to obtain his power. 778
The mask owners formed a society, which [794]

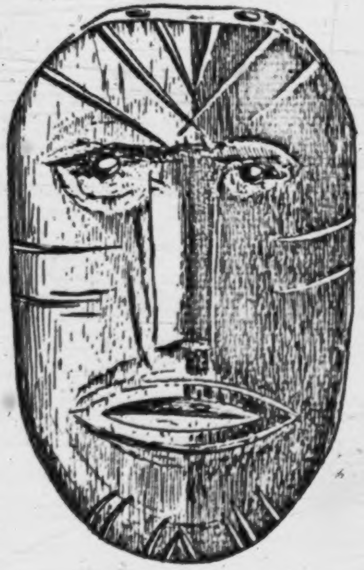

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FIG. 3.—Charm representing Mîsinghâli'kûn. (Height, 1.9 in.)

had a special meeting-house and ceremonies, and whose chief function it was to expell disease. This will be discussed further in another paper. Peter Jones[25]

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illustrates two Minsi masks in use in the first part of the nineteenth century, and these are here reproduced (pl. III). The first he calls a "Muncey idol," and says that it was "delivered up by Joe Nicholas on his Conversion to Christianity," and that "Me Zeengk is the name of this God"; while the second, which he names "a Muncey devil idol," "formerly belonging to the Logan family," was "delivered up on the 26th of Jan. 1842." Jones does not refer to these "idols" in the text. The second mask illustrated seems to have a turtleshell rattle tied on its back, the handle projecting downward. Another mask, found by the writer among the Lenape at Grand river, Ontario, and apparently of Minsi type, is shown in fig. 4. It was collected for Mr E. T. Tefft, of New York, but is now in the American Museum of Natural History.

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Some of our best evidence indicating the early existence of belief in this Mask Being among the Lenape is furnished by archeology—by the finding of

[text continues on p. 41]

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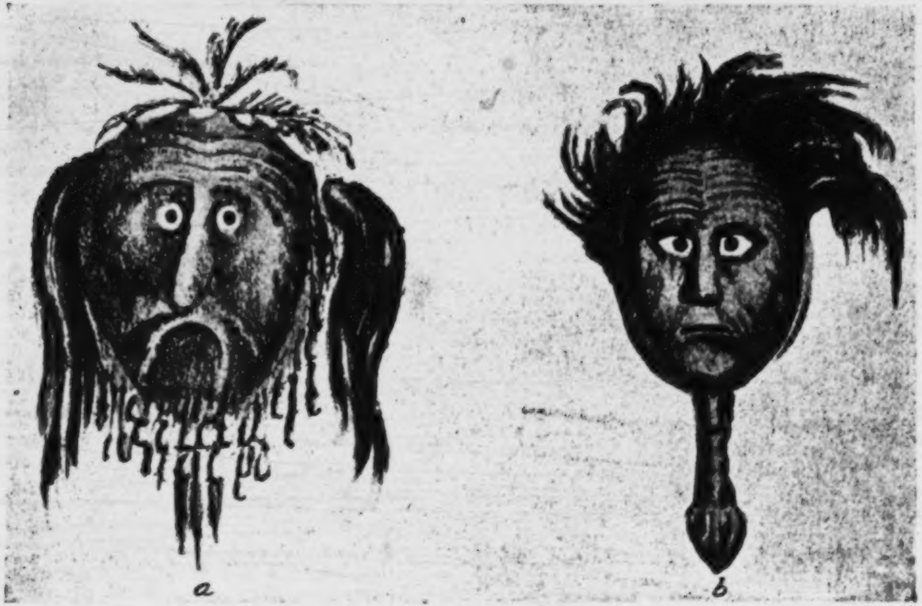
HARRINGTON — LENAPE RELIGION AND CEREMONIES PL. III



MASKS OF THE MINSI (AFTER PETER JONES)

[Facing p. 38]

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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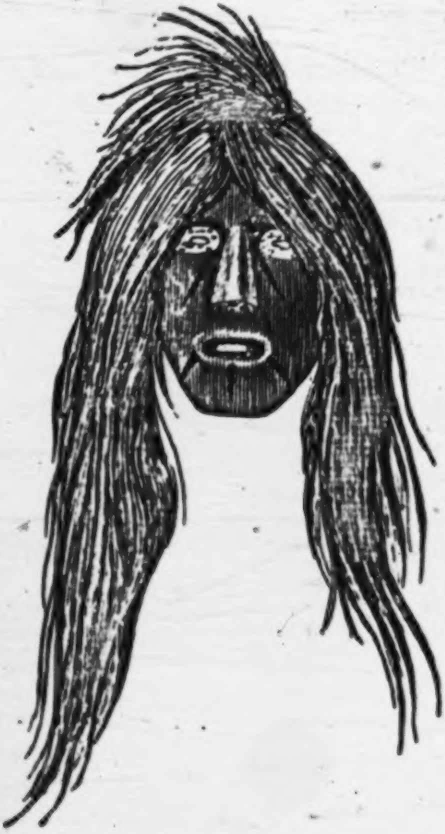

FIG. 4.—Mask from the Canadian Lenape. E. T. Tefft collection, American Museum of Natural History. (Height of head, 14 in.)

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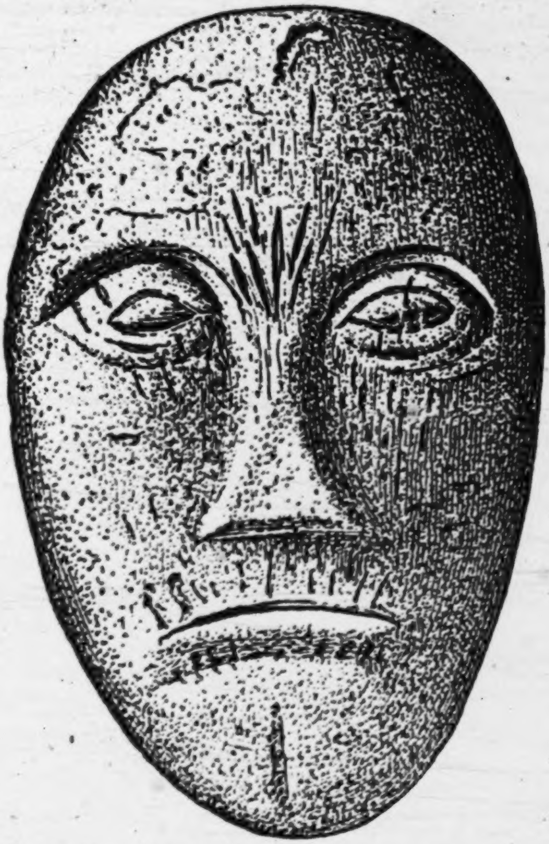

FIG. 5.—Stone head or Misi'ng^{w}' from Ohio. (Height, 13.9 in.)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

[continued from p. 38]

a number of heads or masks of stone 172
(pl. IV) within the boundaries of their 776
former domain in New Jersey and the 778
vicinity,[26] which, when the rarity of such objects in the surrounding regions is also considered, seems quite significant. Such stone heads even mark the trail of the Lenape withdrawal westward through Pennsylvania,[27] and have even been found in Ohio, where they lingered for a time (fig. 5).

The best early description is given by 292
Brainerd,[28] who, in May 1745, while on 776
the Susquehanna above the English 796
settlements, saw a masked Indian who must have been an impersonator of Mĭsinghâli'kŭn. It runs:

> "But of all the sights I saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful . . . as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous Reformer, or rather, restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his *pontifical garb*, which was a coat of *bear skins*, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great *wooden face* painted, the one half black, the other half

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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> 776 796 [292] [534] tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry *tortoise shell* with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but he did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen."

776 778 With the exception of one minor point, the "wry mouth," this would be a good description of the MIsi'ng^{w}' outfit used until recently by the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. II).[28] On the following page, Brainerd mentions "images" which seem to be the MIsi'ng^{w}' faces carved on the posts of the Big House.

Zeisberger[29] also refers to the masks in these words:

> "The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their *Wsinkhoalican*, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a

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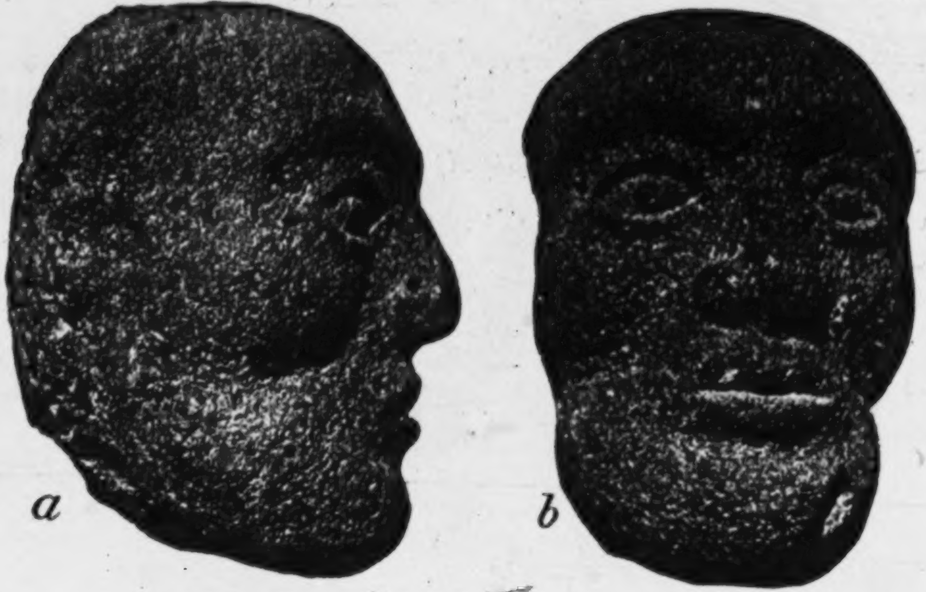
[Facing p. 42]



STONE HEAD OR MĬSI′NG^{w}, FROM STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
(Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences)

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room." 776 778

In his Dictionary, Zeisberger gives the word for "idol" as *mĕsink'*, so it seems probable that the *W* in "Wsinkhoalikan" is a misprint for *M*. [114] [104]

MOTHER CORN

776 One of the important *manĭ'towŭk* of the old days was the Corn Goddess, known as "Mother Corn" of whom one of the Unami legends collected by the writer relates that "It was God's will that the Corn Spirit abide in the far heavenly region in the image of an aged woman, with dominion over all vegetation." Although little remembrance of the details of her worship can now be found among the Oklahoma Lenape, she is mentioned as a Guardian Spirit; while at the Minsi ceremonies at Grand River Reserve in Ontario, she was one of the twelve benefactors of mankind to whom the thanks of the people were offered,

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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776 ● and Minsi women mentioned "Sister Corn" in praying for good crops in the corn fields; while Zeisberger[30] says that the presiding *Mani'to* of Indian Corn or maize was spoken of as the "wife" of the Indian, and was offered bear's flesh.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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CHAPTER II

MINOR DEITIES

DOLL BEING

THE masks described in the last 776
chapter are merely representa- 778
tions of a supernatural being,
and are not supposed to be the
dwellings of a spirit or spirits except
when worn by an impersonator, who is [287]
said to become imbued with the spirit
when the mask is donned; nor are they
usually supposed to possess inherent
power, except as symbols of Mĭsinghâlĭ'kŭn.
But the Lenape had also a class of
images, usually of wood, representing the
human form, which were supposed to
possess life, or at least to be the residence
of spirits, which, so far as can be learned,
had no separate existence. They were
supposed to understand what was said
to them, and to have the power of pro-

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tecting the owner's health, to enjoy offerings, resent ill-treatment, and in fact seem to fall into the class of true fetishes. Usually, but not always, representing the female figure, they were kept as a rule by women, and were given yearly feasts, at which outfits of new clothes were put on them. The native name in Unami is *O''das*; in Minsi, *Nani'tis*. The ceremonies and beliefs associated with them will be described later, in the chapter on minor ceremonies. Most of the early writers seem to have overlooked them, which is not surprising, since they were matters of personal and not of public concern, and their rites were held in private. John Brainerd, however, mentions an "idol image"[31] which seems to be of this class, and a Minsi specimen is figured by Peter Jones[32] and mentioned by him in a footnote. This was afterward procured by the writer from Jones' son, and is now in the American Museum [illegible] Natural History (pl. VIII). John Brainerd (brother of the better known David) made his note of the custom

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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about the middle of the eighteenth 776 ●
century, while that of Jones dates from 778
about a century later.

TORNADO

Besides the gods hitherto named there 776
were many other deities of lesser im- 782
portance. The tornado, for instance, was 821
one of these beings classed as *manĭ'towŭk.* He is mentioned as a giant in size, walking on his hands when in action, his long hair entangling and sweeping away forests and villages; and sometimes as a winged being. When a "cyclone" was seen approaching, some would burn tobacco, and addressing the roaring monster as "Grandfather," would pray that he turn aside and leave the village in peace. Others, scorning such measures of conciliation, would burn old moccasins and rubbish, advising the destroyer to turn aside if he wished to escape the stinging smoke; while still others, even less conciliatory, threatened him with the edge of an axe, vowing they would "break a wing for him" if he came their way. It

● 776 782 821 was commonly said in the tribe that on account of these practices the Lenape suffered little from this evil *manĭ'to.*

SNOW BOY

776 821 Another minor *manĭ'to* is Snow Boy, a being who is supposed to control snow and ice, but who is different from "Our Grandfather at the North," who merely supplies the north wind. [782] Offerings were made to Snow Boy to insure a proper amount of snow for tracking in the winter hunt. Further information concerning these last two *manĭ'towŭk* will be found in the paper on Lenape Mythology, now in preparation.

COMET

There is a third *manĭ'to* called *Elau'nato,* which some Lenape say means "Comet," others "Shooting Star." [787] When a war is impending, says the legend, this being may be seen flying through the air, carrying a bunch of human heads. After Elau'nato has passed, if one listens he will hear a distant rumbling sound, for this *manĭ'to* knows beforehand where the

fighting will take place, and drops the 776
heads on the spot, and the noise of their 821
fall is a roar like thunder.

EVIL MANĬ'TOWŬK

Both the Great Horned Serpents, monsters living in the rivers and lakes, and the Giant Bear were considered evil *manĭ'towŭk*, the only good derived from them being, in the first case, charms made of the scales, bone, or horn of the monsters, supposed to bring rain; and, in the second case, a medicine made from the tooth said to have the power of healing wounds. Children were accustomed to hunt in the sand for tracks of the Little People, comparable with fairies or elves among the whites. 776

ANIMAL SPIRITS

The concepts regarding the numerous 774
animal spirits who were believed to offer 776
themselves as guardians for mankind, are rather hard to define. Most Indians seem to regard their mysterious animal helper not as the spirit or soul of any

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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774 particular animal taken as an individual,
but as a spirit representing the entire
776 species as a whole and partaking of the
nature of the species, at the same time
having human and ***manĭ'to*** attributes.

776 Brainerd[33] makes some interesting re-
778 marks on this subject, which are worth
quoting:

> "They do not indeed suppose a divine power *essential* to, or *inhering* in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings . . . communicate to these animals a *great power;* . . . and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons. Whence such a creature becomes *sacred* to the persons to whom he is supposed to be the immediate author of good, and through him they must worship the invisible powers, though to others he is no more than any other creature."

Certain it is, if a Lenape states that his blessing or power comes from "the otter," he does not mean some particular otter, but a spirit otter whose existence is independent of the life of any particular animal. However, such an animal was
[774] supposed, like a man, to have a spirit or soul of its own.

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PLANT SPIRITS

When gathering herbs for medicine it was customary to offer prayers to certain spirits. Some seem to have prayed at this time to the four directions, others to the presiding genius of the species of plants they sought, or to the spirit of the individual plant itself. The Minsi say that only certain plants were thus addressed. The Corn Spirit has already been mentioned.

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LOCAL GENII

Certain localities, it is said, were thought to be the dwellings of local genii, to whom offerings were occasionally made, especially such places as displayed curious or unusual natural features, while even certain stones were said to have an animate principle or indwelling spirit.

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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CHAPTER IV

Visions and Guardian Spirits

THE most vital and intimate phase of Lenape religion is the belief in dreams and visions, and in the existence of personal guardian spirits or supernatural helpers—concepts of wide distribution among the North American tribes, but rarely, perhaps, so vivid or well-developed as we find them here. The vision was the point of contact, the channel of communication, in Lenape belief, between the great and marvelous supernatural world and the sphere of everyday human life. In a vision the youth first found his guardian spirit, to whom he would always appeal, as his own special friend in the supernatural hierarchy, for aid and comfort in time of trouble, and for the revelation of coming events. He felt that this being took a close personal interest in his

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affairs, while the greater gods, including the Great Spirit himself, were so remote and so occupied with controlling more important things that they might not notice or concern themselves with the affairs of one individual man. Therefore the bulk of his prayers and offerings went to his guardian spirit. If a Lenape won great success on a war expedition or a hunting trip, he was sure the spirit had helped him; if unlucky, he believed that for some reason his guardian had become estranged, or had been overpowered by superior and malevolent forces. A man might become a sorcerer or a shaman at the behest of his guardian spirit, given in a dream or vision, or change his mode of life in other ways. Not every Lenape was blessed with such a guardian; yet many were so favored, usually in their boyhood days. To be eligible for supernatural favor, the youth had to *pi'lsū*^{n}, or pure, which means that not only must he be chaste, but that he must have kept strictly all the taboos against eating food prepared by

women in their periodic condition, etc. 776
Old Lenape say that, as the children of 787
the tribe are reared nowadays in the same way as the whites, they can no longer be *pi'lsŭ*ⁿ, and the Powers will speak to them no more. This is a sad matter, for it means the loss of their principal ancient ceremonies, at which only those blessed with a vision can take active part. The old people feel it keenly that there will be no one left to conduct the rites when the last of their generation has been laid away.

INITIATION OF BOYS

Parents were especially anxious, of 787
course, that their sons should have super- 881
natural aid, hence, when a boy reached the age of about twelve years, they would frequently pretend to abuse him, and would drive him, fasting, out into the forest to shift as best he might, in the hope that some *manĭ'to* would take pity on the suffering child and grant him some power or blessing that would be his dependence through life.

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As they sat brooding, some *manĭ'to* might 787
address himself to them, and give them
advice and comfort, or endow them with
some kind of power. Women occasionally had visions of this kind.

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT

Whatever the precise circumstances of 776●
its appearance, the guardian spirit in 787
many instances was said to show itself
first in human form, and it was only
when it turned to leave that its real
shape (of an animal, for instance) was
noticed by the recipient of its blessing.
Sometimes the interview was quite long
and the directions given by the *manĭ'to*
(for ceremonies, etc.) quite explicit; on
other occasions they were very vague and
cryptic. Frequently, according to the
stories told, some tangible object, called
by the Unami the *opi'na*, or blessing,
was handed by the *manĭ'to* to the recipient of his favor, who usually swallowed it. Some recipients were called [789]
on, however, to make and keep some
symbol of their protector, which was

● 776 787 [789] usually worn on the person in the form of a charm.

533 554 776 787 **Favored Individuals.**—Persons favored with a guardian spirit usually became prominent among their people and were held in high esteem. They composed rythmic chants referring to their visions for use at the Annual Ceremony (which will be discussed in the next chapter), and dance songs to accompany them. Rarely were the words of either chants or songs at all definite: as a rule they merely mentioned attributes of the singer's guardian, or incidents of their first meeting, without stating outright what the guardian spirit was, or telling a consecutive story of the vision.

787 Most Lenape who have had such visions can not be induced to tell the details; but the following examples of such experiences, imperfect in many points, were finally obtained. Incomplete though they are, they will give some idea of this class of beliefs and in this way may prove of value.

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Wĕmi wango^{n}towak ķewika
All greet one another
Yoki lĕnape witci.
Now Lenape at the same time
E-ye-he-ye-ĕ!

"They told me, 'We will go to see our friends,' so I went with them. Every now and then they stopped and danced around as they had done before. After a while one of them told me to look toward the south, and there I saw a black cloud in which the lightning flashed. 'Would you like to go there?' they asked me. I answered 'No.' Then one asked if I wanted to go *that* way, pointing to the northeast, where the sky was blue and bright, to which I answered that I would rather go in that direction toward the clear sky. A little farther on they said: 'We will now leave you. Watch us as we go.' They went to the east a little way, and then I saw them trotting. They were wolves, and I had thought all the while that they were human beings."

Verses of the dance song were sung at intervals during this speech. From analogy with other visions, such as are ● [776]

recorded above, one would think that the six wolf-men must have become Flying Wolf's protectors, but instead, it was a Thunder Being that became his principal guardian, whose participation in the vision is merely inferred from the mention in the speech of the black cloud and the lightning. Evidently this Thunder Being was not offended when Flying Wolf told his guides that he would rather go toward the clear sky than toward the black cloud.

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The Minsi say that when Flying Wolf recited his vision in the Big House ceremonies, he moved everyone, some even to tears. After he had finished, they say, a thunder-shower would almost always rise. He would become strangely excited when the dark clouds began to bank up on the horizon and spread themselves over the land. Stripping himself to the breechcloth, he was ready to go out when the storm broke, for he would never stay beneath a roof at such a time. He loved to expose his body to the driving gusts of wind and rain; the appalling

● 776
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roar was music to his ears; while the lighting, to the eyes of the frightened onlookers, seemed to play about his very body. He used to say that if he stayed indoors the lightning display would be so terrible that the others in the house could not endure it. No wonder they used to say of him, "*Piles'waL pewa'latcil!*" "He is in league with the Thunders!" , or better, perhaps, "The Thunders will protect him!"

Within the memory of Minsi now living in Canada there were two members of the tribe who claimed the Sun spirit, *Ki'zho* (or *Ki'zhox*) as their protector. One of these was known as "Old man" Halfmoon, the other as "Muncey John" Henry. Halfmoon, it is said, when he wished to appear as a warrior, would sometimes hold his bare hands up toward the flaming face of his guardian, then rub the palms down his cheeks. When he removed his hands, it was seen that his face, clean before, was now painted in brilliant colors! "Surely," the people cried, "this man is in league with the Sun!"

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That the idea of a tangible 'blessing' is found among the Minsi, as well as among the Unami, is shown in certain of their traditions.

HISTORICAL REFERENCES.—*Brainerd.* —Brainerd seems to have been about the first author to recognize in any degree the importance of the dream or vision in Lenape religious belief. He says:[40]

> "They give much heed to *dreams*, because they suppose that these invisible powers give them directions at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what *animal* they would choose to be worshipped in."

Other remarks by Brainerd on the same general topic were quoted in the preceding chapter.

Zeisberger.—Zeisberger[41] also devotes a paragraph to it, in which he says:

> "Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft has

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been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing on which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit."

Loskiel.—Loskiel's account[42] seems largely derived from the above. He remarks:

> "The *manittos* are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has in a dream received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffaloe; and so forth. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; But those who have been thus favored, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally."

Heckewelder.—Heckewelder[43] devotes a whole chapter to the subject, under the head of "Initiation of Boys," to which

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the reader is referred, as it is all of interest, but can not be reproduced here. I will merely quote portions of one paragraph, which will serve to show that this author found approximately similar ideas as had his predecessors, concepts which still exist among the Lenape.

> "When a boy is to be thus *initiated*, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting . . . so that he sees, or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams. Then he has interviews with the Manitto or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born, and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment, whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjuror or a prophet."

Later in the chapter Heckewelder mentions the fact that persons favored with such dreams considered themselves under the protection of the "celestial powers," and mentions the "strength, the power, and the courage" conveyed to them, but lays more stress on the prophetic side of these visions than on the actual

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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776 787 aid rendered, according to Lenape belief, by the supernatural guardians.

Adams.—From Heckewelder's time to the present, I know of but one writer, besides myself, who describes, from his own observation, the Lenape belief in visions and guardian spirits. This is R. C. Adams,[41] himself of Delaware blood, whose notes may be found in the volume on Indians of the United States Census Report for 1890 (p. 298 et seq.). He says:

> "It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spirit is sent from the Great Spirit."

Having now considered the very foundation of Lenape religion, we may turn with better understanding, to their great Annual Ceremony.

to let you kill deer." The reader will remember that Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, in whose image the Mĭsi'ng^{w}' is carved, is supposed to have control over the deer, and in fact over all wild animals. 224 796x [776]

All the hunters that are in the habit of chewing tobacco are now given some for this purpose. When they file out and mount their horses, the Mĭsi'ng^{w}' follows them and sees them off. [276]

After the hunters have disappeared, the people call the Mĭsi'ng^{w}' back into the Big House and coax him to dance, while two men volunteer to sing for him.

PRAYER FOR THE HUNTERS

The following evening six men are appointed and given a yard of wampum to divide among them, to go out close to the forked game-pole east of the Big House, intended for the carcasses of the deer, and "pray" there twelve times. The meaning of this, of course, is that they sound the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" which is evidently to help the hunters. This night also a yard of wampum is unstrung

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ashes from the fire are always taken out at the west door, and the dirt is always swept in the fire. In front of the east door outside is a high pole on which venison hangs. It is a feast dance and the deacons distribute food among the people. The officers and waiters are paid in wampum for their services. 796^x

"In no case is a dog allowed to enter the temple, and no one is allowed to laugh inside it, or in any way be rude. Each person is allowed to speak and tell his dream or dreams or to give advice. It is believed by the Delawares that every one has a guardian spirit which comes in the form of some bird, animal, or other thing, at times in dreams, and tells them what to do and what will happen. The guardian spisit is sent from the Great Spirit. 796^x 825 [776]

"Traditions say that 10 years before white men came to this country (America) a young man told his dream in the temple. This was on the Atlantic coast. He saw coming across the great waters a large canoe with pinions (wings) and containing strange people, and that in 10 years they would in fact come. He told this dream and predicted the arrival of the white men each year until they came and were seen by his people. Many of our people still keep up this dance, but the temple is not so large as it used to be, and the attendance now is not more than 100 persons. Any Indian of any tribe can also take part in the dance, but no white man can. 173 796^x 787

do, there will be another earthquake, or 539
something else just as bad.

"The earthquake stopped that time: that is why the Delawares have kept the Mĭsi′ng^{wt} and the Big House ever since. The Mask is left in charge of some family who will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time."

It will be seen that, according to the
above tradition, the Mĭsi′ng^{wt} was, first 178
of all, a personal helper, or guardian 776
Spirit, that afterward became more or less of a tribal deity, and that his cult became engrafted on the Annual Ceremony among the Unami, the rites of which were already ancient among them. That this engrafting really took place seems possible from the fact that among the Minsi there were no masked performers at the Big House ceremonies, and that, while the central post of the temple was provided with carved faces, the masks had an entirely different function among this people. The innovation, if it took place at all, must have been before Brainerd's[68] time, however, for, as related

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178 in our first chapter, he found the Mĭsi'ng^{wt}
776 and Big House in use, as among the
Unami today, as early as May, 1745,
while traveling among the Delawares
living at that time on Susquehanna river.

MĬSI'NG^{WT} DANCE

796^ Besides the part taken by the Mĭsi'ng^{wt} in the Annual Ceremony, he has certain rites peculiar to himself which were held every spring. As the Indians put it:

"When spring comes, the Delawares are glad, and they are thankful that their helper, the Mĭsi'ng^{wt}, is still among them. For this reason they give a feast and dance to make him happy too."

Notification.—So at the time of the full
[202] moon (about May), the keeper of the
[492] mask gives another Indian a yard of
wampum to ride around to all the
Delaware houses, wearing the mask and
bearskin costume (pl. II) to let the people
know that the time for the Mĭsi'ng^{wt}
dance (*Mĭsingkĭ'nĭkä*) is at hand. The
Mĭsi'ng^{wt} rides horseback, and another
man, also mounted, follows him to see that

796^{x} house or tent the man of the house usually gives him a piece of tobacco, which the Messingq smells and puts in his big pouch, after which he turns around and kicks back toward the giver which means 'thank you,' and departs. He never thinks of climbing a fence, but jumps over it every time that one is in his way. The Devil dance is what the white men call it, but the Delawares call it the Messingq, or 'solid face' dance. The Messingq does not represent an evil spirit, but is always considered a peacemaker. I suppose that it is from his hideous appearance that white men call him the devil."

OTHER FUNCTIONS OF MɪSI'NG$^{w'}$

755 776 961 The Mɪsi'ng$^{w'}$ the Indians claim, "takes care of the children," as well as of the deer, for as before related if any Delaware has a child who is weak, sickly. or disobedient, he sends for the Mɪsi'ng$^{w'}$ and asks him to "attend to" his child, On his arrival it does not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of such children, so that "afterward they are well and strong, and whenever they are told to do a thing, they lose no time in obeying." This is the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask found among the Unami.

function of the mask found among the 000
Unami.

When the keeper of the Mɪsi'ngʷ' 782
burns tobacco for him and asks for good 776 ●
luck in hunting, "it turns out that way
every time;" and the Lenape say moreover that if anyone loses horses or cattle, either strayed away or stolen, he can go to the keeper of the Mɪsi'ngʷ' with some tobacco as a gift and get them back. He explains his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs the Mɪsi'ngʷ' that they want him to look for the horses or cattle. The loser then goes back home, and after a few days the missing animals return, driven back by the Mɪsi'ngʷ', who if they had been tied or hobbled by the thieves, frightened them until they broke away
and came home. When the Big House 776
meeting is held in the fall, the Mɪsi'ngʷ', as before related, is seen going around among the tents of the Delawares assembled, and in and out of the Big House, always coming from the woods, where the impersonator has a place to change his clothes. The Indians say:

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776 "He helps the people with their hunting, and also helps in the Big House while the ceremonies are in progress. If he finds anyone there who has not done right, he informs the three guards of the meeting, who take that person and put him out. In all these ways the Mĭsi'ngʷ' helps the Delawares."

MASKS OF THE MINSI

532 778 776 The Minsi Mizi'nk (cognate with the Unami *Mĭsi'ngʷ'*) was a mask made of wood with copper or brass eyes and a crooked nose, according to my informants at Munceytown; and judging by Peter Jones' drawings (pl. III) they were provided also with hair, tufts of feathers, and jingling copper cones or deer-hoofs. The Mizink at Grand river was of Minsi type, judging by the specimen obtained by the writer (fig. 4).

Such masks were made to represent Mizinkhâli'kŭn, who was "something like a person, but different from the Indians, and was powerful. They saw him first among the rocks on a hill, and he spoke to

them and told them what to do to get his 532
power. When a man put on a Mizink 776●
he received the power of this person or 778
spirit; he could even see behind him,
and could cure diseases."

The Mask Society.—The men who 794
owned these masks formed a kind of society which Nellis Timothy says originally had twelve members, but which, before it disbanded, dwindled to about five. Sometimes only two appeared in costume.

The society had a meeting-house of its own where its dances, *Mizinkĭ'ntĭka*, were held, for, unlike the Unami custom, no Mizink ever appeared in the Big House. The members appeared wearing their masks and clad in rough bearskin and deerskin costumes, while some, at least, where provided with a turtleshell rattle which they would rub on a long pole, crying "*O^n-o^n-o^n!*" the while.

Ceremonies.—While no consecutive ac- 794
count of their ceremonies is now re- 796
membered, it was said that they some- 751
times put down their rattles, heaped up

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CHAPTER VIII

MINOR CEREMONIES

THE DOLL BEING

773 •776 THE Doll Being, called by the Unami *O''das* and by the Minsi *Nani'tis*, has been already mentioned as a minor Lenape deity, and it now remains only to relate the ceremonies and beliefs connected with it, beginning with the myth accounting for its origin.

MYTH OF ORIGIN

Long ago, the Lenape say, some children, playing with sticks, decided to cut faces upon them, and were then very much surprised to notice that the little dolls which they had thus made seemed to have life. Their parents made them throw the dolls away when they discovered this, and most of the children

soon forgot what had happened. One 773
little girl, however, grieved for her doll; 776
it bothered her all the time, and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realized that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, "Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring," and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CEREMONY

When the family owning a doll of this 796x
kind is ready to conduct the Doll Dance (*O''das-kĭ'nĭkă*), they select two men to

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attendance is large, two such fires are built. Between the changes the doll pole is stuck into the ground near the fire. When the twelfth set is finished, the speaker announces, "The Doll Dance is over," and the feast of hominy and venison is served to everyone. Then the speaker says: "If you want to dance the rest of the night, you may do so, for many of you have come a long way from home and should have a chance for more enjoyment. We will hold another Doll Dance next year." Then they put the doll away and amuse themselves with various social dances until morning.

MINSI DOLL CEREMONY

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Among the Minsi the beliefs concerning the Doll Being were similar, but differed in detail. As to origin, Wolf told the writer that one time a man lay ill, likely to die, and his family called in a medicine-man, or "witch-doctor." The shaman finally announced that the family must make one of these dolls and care for it, and that the sick man would then get

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well. This was done, and the doctor's prediction being realized, the Minsi have ever since made and used these dolls, called in their dialect *nani'tIs*, which were transmitted from parents to children. Wolf's own mother had one, carved out of wood in the form of a person, with a woman's dress and moccasins (for as a rule they represent women); and she always cared for it religiously, in the belief that if well treated it would protect the family and give them good health, but if neglected, someone would surely die. Every year, in the fall, when the deer are in their best condition, Wolf's mother held a dance for it, called "Feeding the Nani'tIs;" but she did more than feed it: she put new clothes on it, three sets, and new moccasins every year. She believed that the image sometimes went about of its own accord, although she kept it carefully in a box, for the old dresses always seemed worn at the bottom and soiled, and she found burrs clinging to them when she went to put new clothes on "Nani'tIs."

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773 ● 776 796x She hired a man especially to hunt a yearling doe for the ceremony, which took place in her own dwelling. The details are lost, but it is remembered that a man beat a little drum and sang while she, as owner, danced around, carrying the doll in her hands, followed by such of the other women present as wished to participate. Said Wolf, "The Nani'tis helped the Indians, that's why they fed it."

532 778 [126] *An Old Minsi "Doll."*—The writer was able to obtain but one old specimen of this type (pl. VIII), which was procured at the Grand River reserve, Ontario, for the E. T. Tefft collection, now in the American Museum of Natural History, and was described in the writer's article,[66] before cited, as follows:

> "Perhaps the most interesting Delaware specimen of all is the little wooden image, about eight inches high, bought of Dr. Jones, which his father, Rev. Peter Jones, described and illustrated in his book under the name 'Nahneetis, the Guardian of Health.' He says:
>
> "'I have in my possession two family gods. One is called *Pabookowaih*—the god that crushes [776]

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or breaks down diseases. The other is a goddess 778
named *Nahneetis*, the guardian of health. This 532
goddess was delivered up to me by Eunice Hank, [776]
a Muncey Indian woman, who with her friends
used to worship it in their sacred dances, making [796^{x}]
a feast to it every year, when a fat doe was
sacrificed as an offering, and many presents were
given by the friends assembled. She told me
she was now restored to worship the Christian's
God, and therefore had no further use for it.'

"There can be no doubt in this case concerning the identity of this specimen with the one illustrated in the book quoted. It will be noticed however by those who are familiar with Peter Jones' illustration that Nahneetis, like many humans, has lost her hair in her old age. An interesting feature of the specimen is the primitive skirt, which is made apparently by belting a blanket-like bit of cloth, bound at the edges,
around Nahneetis' waist. [291]
A vestige of this method of making a skirt survives, I think, in the form of the beaded strip running up one of the vertical seams of the more modern Indian skirt, among both the Delawares and the Iroquois."

The writer afterward found such skirts 778
still in use among the Lenape in Oklahoma (pl. 1, *b*).

An Early Account of Nani'tis.—Another early account of the Nani'tis among the Minsi may be found in the

796x by Zeisberger[87] may have been of this kind:

> "A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything."

OTTER CEREMONY

Similar to the Bear ceremony in many ways, both in traditional origin and in rites, was the observance called *A''kcigamu'tti*", said to mean "compulsory hog-eating," held to propitiate the Otter spirit, a cult whose paraphernalia the writer was fortunate enough to collect for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. ● [176]

Myth of Origin

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796x Many years ago, so runs the story, a little girl about ten years of age was given a young otter for a pet, and this she kept and cared for until it was well grown. About this time she began to feel that she should keep him no longer, for she

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

RELIGION

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A STUDY of the material presented shows that the Lenape believed in a Great Spirit, or Creator, whose goodness is acknowledged, who is thanked for past blessings and petitioned for their continuance, but who is not their only god. He is, however, the great chief of all, and dwells in the twelfth, or highest heaven. He created everything, either with his own hands or through agents sent by him, and all the powers of nature were assigned to their duties by his word. That these concepts are not new among the Lenape may be seen from the fact that most of the early writers who treat of this people have noticed such beliefs among them, which can be traced back as far as 1679.

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This Great Spirit gave the four quarters of the earth and the winds that come from them to four powerful beings, or *manĭ'towŭk*, namely, Our Grandfather where daylight begins, Our Grandmother where it is warm, Our Grandfather where the sun goes down, and Our Grandfather where it is winter. To the Sun and the Moon, regarded as persons and addressed as Elder Brothers by the Indians, he gave the duty of providing light, and to our Elder Brothers the Thunders, man-like beings with wings, the task of watering the crops, and of protecting the people against the Great Horned Serpents and other water monsters. To the Living Solid Face, or Mask Being, was given charge of all the wild animals; to the Corn Spirit, control over all vegetation, while Our Mother, the Earth, received the task of carrying and feeding the people.

Besides these powerful personages were many lesser ones, such as the Small People, the Doll Being, the Snow Boy, and the Great Bear. Certain localities, 771 •776 moreover, were the abode of supernatural beings, while animals and plants were thought to have spirits of their own. Besides these there were, of course, the countless spirits of the human dead who were still supposed to retain some influence in earthly affairs.

771 This, then, was the supernatural world which, to the mind of the Lenape, controlled all things—on which they must depend for health, for success in all their undertakings, even the daily task of deer-hunting or corn-raising. Benevolent beings must be pleased, and bad spirits combated and overcome, or at least placated.

[776] There was, however, until very lately, no conception of a "devil" in the modern sense of the word.

771 787 The main channel of communication between the supernatural world and man was the dream or vision, obtained, as before described, by fasting and consequent purification in youth. Through the vision the young man obtained his guardian spirit or supernatural helper,

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Ceremony	Function	Spirit Force Addressed
1. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Bear Rite	To immunise against sickness caused by Bear	Bear
2. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Otter Rite	To immunise against sickness caused by Otter	Otter
3. Mask Dance Ceremony	To avert sickness caused by Face-Image spirit and to aid deer hunting and agriculture	Mask Spirit, Corn (mother or grandmother)
4. Opossum Dance	To satisfy the guardian spirit of opossums	Opossum
5. Doll Dance	To appease ill-will of spirit of corn and avert sickness	Human Images (dolls)
6. Buffalo Dance	To overcome buffalo	Buffalo
7. Spring Football Ceremony	To promote and protect growth of crops	Creator (father), Sun (elder brother) and Thunders (grandfathers)
8. Corn Harvest Ceremony	Thanksgiving, appeal for health and abundance	Creator (Father), Corn (mother or grandmother)
9. Social, or "Stomp" Dances	Amusement, social assembly	None specified
10. Big House Ceremony (Ga'mwiŋ)	To avert, (*a*) destruction of world; (*b*) national catastrophe and sickness; (*c*) to unify the people	Creator and entire pantheon

[facing p. 26(A)]

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ORCE ADDRESSED	ORIGIN	PROCEDURE
	From release of captive Bear (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking grease and fea meat
	From release of captive Otter (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking of grease an hog meat
it, Corn (mother or ther)	Obligation imposed by Spirit (myth)	Solo mask dance, eating corn foods
	Dream injunction (myth)	Imitative of opossum, and recitation of d hostess
nages (dolls)	Children's familiarity with corn mask dolls causing illness (myth)	Six men's, six women's dance songs, feast and corn foods, prayer-call facing east, t corn-bread images of human being and bear, offering
	None specified	Imitative of buffalo, circling, shoving
(father), Sun (elder and Thunders thers)	Mandatory by custom	Prayer, thanksgiving followed by dance, fol football game between men and women
(Father), Corn or grandmother)	Mythical corn famine, rite mandatory by custom	Day: Thanksgiving address by leader, d masked men, alternating with women's dan Night: Social dances, feast of corn foods, fi around drummers and singers
ified	None specified	Circling column in trot, contraclockwis motions, varied mimicry
nd entire pantheon	Ceremony revealed to tribe after mythical earthquake, tornado and volcano,—destruction of world	Recitation of visions with dancing aroun and praying, discourses and feasting fo nights; ceremonial hunt and mask danc morning; ninth night, new fire made, an call to creator, incense burned, wampum con and sacrifice, repainting images, corn-f meat feast; twelfth night "beginners" and rehearsal of vision recitation, fire allowed t ninth morning, dance around center-post prayer-call with prayer-sticks; wampum sa

[Facing p. 26 (B)]

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SUMMARY OF DELAW.

CEDURE	CEREMONIAL HOST	PARTICIPANTS	
iking grease and feast of bear	Wolf division, head of family, self-appointed.	Family of legendary hero and guests, no women	Bi
nking of grease and feast of	Oldest survivor of family concerned with legend	Family of legendary originator and guests, men and women	Sp
corn foods	Owner of mask, or person calling for rite as cure for sickness or scared after dreaming of mask	No restrictions	Ar s
ind recitation of dream by	Female who inherits obligation	Female dance volunteers, singers, members of hostess's father's group	W.
dance songs, feast of meat -call facing east, tossing up nan being and bear, wampum	Families owning dolls descended from original children doll-makers; leader an invited chief with male and female assistants	Families owning dolls; unrestricted guests	Ar
ing, shoving	Not specified	Volunteers, no limitations	Wl
owed by dance, followed by nen and women	Chief of ceremonial group, Wolf, Tortoise, Turkey	No restrictions	An s
lress by leader, dance by g with women's dance st of corn foods, final dance ingers	Chosen (hereditary?)	No restrictions	An
ot, contraclockwise; hand r	Appointed leaders	No limitations; free attendance	Co is
ith dancing around images s and feasting for twelve t and mask dance, fourth new fire made, and prayer- urned, wampum consecration ng images, corn-food and st "beginners" and women's ation, fire allowed to go out; around center-post images, sticks; wampum sacrifice	Individual of Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise group who assumes sponsorship, supported by his group and twelve "attendants"	Sponsor's group, and other two groups as collaborators	An n n

[facing p. 26(c)]

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ARY OF DELAWARE RITES AND FEASTS

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IPANTS	TIME HELD	DURATION	LOCA
dary hero and nen	Biennial	One night	Rectangular br
dary originator m and women	Spring, biennial	One or more days	Outdoors on pre
	Annually in autumn at beginning of hunting season	One ni[illegible]	Not specified
olunteers, singof hostess's	When called annually (?)	One night	Outdoor (?) dan
g dolls; unre-	Annually in fall	One night until sunrise	Outdoors on pre
imitations	When decided and called	All day	Outdoor dance c
	Annually in spring until midsummer end of June	Dancing several nights at end of each week, football game day following	Outdoors on pre
	Annually at corn harvest time	Day and night	Outdoors on pre
ree attendance	Conclusion of formal rites, or informally when called	All or part of night	Indoor or outdoo
and other two borators	Annually in fall (Oct.) (formerly by tradition every month)	Twelve nights, with rites on fourth and thirteenth days	In permanent cere ture (the Big H images of Creat lesser deities, an adjacent

[Facing p. 26(D)]

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LOCATION	MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT	SUPPLIES AND PARA
Rectangular brush house	Turtle hand-rattle	Wampum string for bear's meat, and bear's head (now
Outdoors on prepared ground	Turtle hand-rattle	Otter skin pendant on back o and steel fire tools
Not specified	Deer-hide drum, snapping turtle rattle by mask dancer	Red and black wooden mas leggings, bag, staff, corn payment
Outdoor (?) dance oval	Water-drum and rattle	Wampum paid to singer
Outdoors on prepared ground	Deer-hide drum with turtle-rattles	Dressed male and female de red, wampum to pay lead beef and hog meat, hominy,
Outdoor dance circle	Deer-hide drum	Buffalo horn head band, hom
Outdoors on prepared ground	(?)	Football of deer-hair and goal
Outdoors on prepared ground	Drums and rattles	Masks, corn husk covering,
Indoor or outdoor circle	None required	Native costume urged
In permanent ceremonial structure (the Big House), before images of Creator and twelve lesser deities, and on grounds adjacent	Hide-drum, turtle hand-rattles	Wooden mask, corn-morta mussel-shell spoons, red strings and beads, prayer-sti sticks, turkey-wing fans, fire corn foods, cedar incense

[Facing p.26(E)]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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● 776
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SUPPLIES AND PARAPHERNALIA	CEREMONIAL UNITS
m string for bear's head, baskets of and bear's head (now hog's head)	Eat-all feast of bear's meat, vision recitation
in pendant on back of song leader, flint sel fire tools	Dream recitation, kindling new fire, feasting on hog flesh and grease
l black wooden mask, bear-skin coat, s, bag, staff, corn foods, wampum nt	Mask-clown dance, sermon, supplication, feast, social dances (mask-dancer also admitted to Big House Ceremony)
m paid to singer	Dream recitation, feast, sermon, social dances
male and female dolls, faces painted ampum to pay leader and assistants, d hog meat, hominy, cornbread	Song-dance, feast, sermon, social dances, extinguishing fire, cornbread image sacrifices
horn head band, hominy pot for feast	Imitative dancing
of deer-hair and goals	Round dances, prayer, thanksgiving; football game between sexes with wagering
orn husk covering, corn foods	Prayer, thanksgiving, masked dance, corn-food feast, social dances, Drunken dances
ostume urged	No ritual
mask, corn-mortar, bark dishes, shell spoons, red paint, wampum and beads, prayer-sticks, carved drum turkey-wing fans, fire-drill, deer meat, ods, cedar incense	Capitulates events of annual ceremonial cycle; vision recitation, sermons and prayers; corn-food and meat feasting, sacred hunt, mask-clown dancing; new fire rite; formerly sweat-bath rite; wampum sacrifice; purification,—sweeping of white-path; painting rite; cedar incense rite; paint annointment rite; no social dances; informal games during day intervals

[facing p. 26(F)]

THE MASK DANCE CEREMONY

Kant'ke'ohe·n məs·i'ŋgəma, "he dances his *face-image* 796x
(mask)." The mask concept being one of some prominence 171
in Delaware worship, one may imagine that a reconstruction 778
of religious performance in the tribe, at a time before the decline of native institutions, would place the human-face representation in an exalted position among the spirit forces. In both Delaware and Iroquois religious pantomime masking seems about equally proportioned, though the finer details of belief and performance in the two groups are dissimilar enough to cause hesitation in allying them in origin. Yet it is noteworthy that only the Delawares among the Algonkian peoples east of the Alleghanies and south of New England exhibit the mask development, whence it extends southward to Florida with little interruption even considering the meagreness of early information on religious features in the lives of these mysterious tribes.

I have indulged in some discussion of the Mask Spirit and 796x
its history among the Delawares in my study of the Big House Ceremony,[1] to which the reader is referred for a summary account of the circumstances by which the Delawares became involved in the carrying out of the mask propitiation rite. The details of the inheritance of the mask image and the expiation ceremony within a certain family in the tribe, namely the Frenchman family, have been outlined in the report referred to.

The ceremony is accordingly one of the family "feasts" among the Delawares that attracted the attention of Zeisberger as being of such frequent occurrence in the tribe while resident in Ohio in the eighteenth century.

We discover the concept governing this ceremonial feast 776
to be that the Mask Spirit requires to be remembered with a

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[1] "Big House Ceremony," p. 43. It may be noted that recent results of work among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve, Ontario, also disclose significant traditions of mask usage.

x796 dance and feast in his honor among the people. He is be-
776 lieved to be present at this time with the company. The occasion satisfies the Mask Spirit, his favor is invoked in behalf of hunters, especially in the pursuit of deer, over which he exerts spiritual control. And any possible influences of evil through sickness are averted by this ceremonial compensation. The function of the Mask Spirit as the guardian of the game is again shown by the fact that the feast was held in the autumn before the hunting season opened. The same idea is evident at the time, during the Big House Ceremony, when the Mask is brought in to dance just before the hunters depart for the ceremonial hunt on the fourth morning of the performance. In paying homage to the spiritual "owner" of the game we undoubtedly have an exceedingly old and fundamental religious property of the Algonkian culture complex.

The Mask Spirit, however, has manifestly a dual function in the Delaware pantheon, presiding over both the game spirits and those of cultivated vegetation. We learn this most clearly from the invocations in the address proclaimed in connection with the Mask dance. This characteristic Delaware *mani'tꞏu* seems to reign as a spirit of responsibility for the food supply of the tribe, thus involving obligations to him on the part of the people for plant as well as animal sources of nourishment. The Mask Spirit also possesses a personality of evil, when aggravated by neglect. He seems to represent a menace not to be ignored when aroused, the humor of which is influenced by a kind of attention which is explained in the ensuing passages as an essential to well-being. The burden of propitiatory rite-performance was inflicted upon a certain posterity, the penalty of neglect of the mask rites being sickness. This feature is about the only element of the mask beliefs which corresponds with Iroquois teaching concerning the Mask Spirits.

In the text to follow, Wiꞏtapano'xwe reproduces the formal speeches which evince the Delaware attitude toward the mask concept and the purpose dominating the minds of the people in maintaining this interesting festival.

stated songs for the mask dance by selected men who beat time upon the flat deer-hide drum of the same type as that used in the Big House Ceremony. (See Fig. 19, I, of the "Big House Ceremony.") 796^{x} 533

It should be noted that the Mask Spirit is important enough among the spirit-forces to be admitted to the annual ceremony of the Big House. There, we learn, on the fourth morning of the festival the mask is admitted to the scene and the same dance as that just described is gone through. 796^{x} 776 ●

See pp. 39–44, and figs. 9, 10 of the volume referred to for particulars and illustrations of the mask spirit concept, p. 139 for description of this intercession during the Big House Ceremony when the Mask-Spirit is introduced as a performer. [illegible]

MASK DANCE ADDRESSES

Announcement by the Speaker

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Elaŋgu'ndieŋg	kexa'p'tun	ke'ko	nga't·a	lo'we.		
Our kindred	few words	something	I want	to say.		
wa'ni	ce•	ni·'ma'təs	ga'xta	wehoma's·u	təli'	ga'xta
This	there	my brother	wants	to announce	that	he is going
kɑnt'ke'ohe•n	məs·i'ŋgoma.	me'tci	paxka'ndji	ki·cə-		
to make dance	his mask.	Now	all ready	pre-		
na'k·ut	we•'mi·	ke'ko	nekałkɔ't·uk	e'nda	wi·'huŋge•t'	
pared	all	things	used	when	he feasts [4]	
wa'ni	kəmuxo•'msəna	məs·i'ŋg.	kowa'to•ne•n	elaŋ-		
that	our grandfather	mask.	You know	my		
gu'ndieŋg	ləmwe''kami	nɔ'tci·	ki·ci·'mkɔt	elaehɔ's·i·t'		
kindred	ancient world	since	has been the rule	the manner		
awe•'n	nehel·a'la•t'	məs·i'ŋgɔ	e'nxɑn	acəwi·ga'xtiŋg		
anyone	owning	a mask	each	every year		
na'ni·	lək'hi'kwi·	taxkəkəni·'i·	lək'hi'kwi·	sa'psoha'la•		
that	time	in the fall	time	made hominy for		
məs·i'ŋg	wi·sa'pa•n	nani	kəmuxo•'msəna.			
mask	hominy	that	our grandfather.			
yu'kwe	ki·ci· wunda'su	e'nda	pale'nɑxk	la'k·i·m-		
Now	has been set	when	fifth	day of the		

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[4] Referring to both the mask and its owner.

roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). 821
This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period 177
of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors, it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be the result of confusion on the part of the authors between opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in 1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very in- 771
susceptible to change. From the records available, over three hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good 776
and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from 1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never
denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a 775
future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment is given immediately after death, there is again complete agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of 775
the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification 177
(37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

(Continued on p. 38)

9: Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946
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TABLE OF ELEMENTS

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.												
1. Any opinion respecting the planetary system				+		−	•−	−	+	+	+	+
2. Origin myth		+			+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+
3. Earth is round				−	−			−	+	•+	•+	•+
4. immovable, shakes but does not revolve				+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
5. Divide year into 4 seasons	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Names	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. Divide year in ___ moons or months †	13			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	•	12
8. Sun is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
9. Moon is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
10. Opinion respecting eclipses †				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•
11. Names for any star	+	+		+	+	−	•	−	+	+	+	+
12. Count by tens	+			+		+			+	•	+	+
13. Arithmetic in abstract				−		−	−	−	+	+	+	+
14. Four cardinal points †	+					+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+
15. Prognostics respecting weather						+	•	+	+	+	+	+
16. Meteors are indication of evil †						+	•	•	+	+	S	+
17. are misbehaving stars moving							+	•	−		+	−
18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon						•−	−	•−	−	−	−	−
19. Calculate time of reappearance †						+	−	+	+	+	•	+
20. Regulate course in unknown country												
by the sun						+		+		+	+	+
by stars							+			+	+	+
Religion												
21. Concept of Supreme Being †	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22. Subordinate deities †	+		(+)	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
23. Evil Spirits †			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Supreme Being superior to subordinate and evil spirits				+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
25. Subordinate spirits dominant over evil spirits					+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+

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26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+	+
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Judgment immediately after death		+?				+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	+	−	+	+	−
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+			−	+	−	−
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+			−	+	•	−
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	•	Up	Up	W& Up	Up
bad souls						Up	•	•	Up		Up	Up
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+	S
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Medicine												
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †												
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+		+	−
Consumption					+				+	−	−	+
Pleurisy						+			−		+	
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	+
Dysentery				+					−		+	
Rheumatism				+	+				+	−	•+	−
Boils				+					+		−	
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+
45. Cupping common				+					−	−	−	−
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
48. Receive any education					−	−		−	−	−	−	−
49. Called by divine agency in youth								+	+	+	+	+
50. Count pulse						−		+	+	+	−	−
51. Inquire into nature of complaint						+		+	+	+	+	+

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preferred if readily available and in many cases they were not. 764 The length of time the corpse was kept before burial was given as several days by the two first-period sources giving information on this point (181). In the last three periods burial was usually on the day after death, particularly in summer. Pipe said that formerly the corpse was kept three days in summer and seven in winter, because it was supposed that the tutelar deity of the [776] deceased might restore him to life. W. L. gave the same sort of an answer in a little more modern dress. He said that a body was kept one to three days, but that if death was from a serious illness, and there was no chance of his coming back to life, he was buried the next day.

The position of the corpse in burial quite evidently was changed after European contact (183). In the first period both Van der Donck and Lindeström described burials made in a sitting position either on a stool or a block of wood. Without the last detail this might be taken to mean in a flexed position but not necessarily upright. Since both these writers may have mentioned only the unusual and ignored burials in the familiar extended position, we are not sure from the documentary evidence whether the two positions were used contemporaneously or not. It is clear, however, that after some years of white contact, migration westward, and contact with other tribes, there was a change to the use of the extended position alone.

Opinion on the requirement of grave goods is divided in every period except the third (186). All the sources in that period and one or more in each of the others stated that clothes were the only grave goods required although other things might be added. Van der Donck and Lindeström in the first period, Heckewelder in the second, and J. W. in the fourth period all maintained that more than clothes was required to be put in the grave. The details of the latter's statement in connection with the actual 764 cases described by him seem to explain all the discrepancies. He 768 said that good articles left by a deceased person were given to the persons who performed the death and funeral services but that old, much-used articles were put in the grave. However, old cherished articles were frequently if not usually given to mem-

593
next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men 462
and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In 562
the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the
responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, ac- 593
cording to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and 578
Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or
refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just
cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish
his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee 262
were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing
short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of
certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox,
muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the
Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91).[11] J. W. said that
opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle,
and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that
opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. [619]
Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle,
turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last
one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct sub-
divisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which
was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the
name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware re-
gard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and [776]
in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince
this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292- 243
98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented [262]
by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced 244
by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes
and other less important wild products were gathered. The 222
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[11] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

805 May *Mo'ksoata ki·ło*—Deer getting red
821 July *Dai-*, *Lai-*, or *Kiči-nipen*—Middle of summer
October *Takǫkiniki·ło*—Fall month when everyone gets together
November *Dailo·wen* or *Luwaniki·ło*—Changing or winter moon
December *Kičilo·wen*—Winter

8 and 9. Sun and moon as deities

● 776 [821] John Johnston—They suppose the Sun to be a Deity composed of heat which regulates the day and returns to the East in the night under ground. Which is the cause of vegetation or makes the grass grow. The moon they suppose to be another Deity equal in rank with the sun which regulates the night and divides the year.

776 773 Captain Pipe—The Sun they suppose to be a human being, and they call him their brother. Tradition says that in early days the Sun was in the habit of devouring twelve Indian children each day at noon, as a kind of compensation for his labours; but the inhabitants of the earth becoming incensed at his voraciousness remonstrated. He then proposed to reduce the number to six but they still refused, and at length agreed upon two, which number they suppose he now receives every day. The light of the Sun is occasioned by the brightness of a feathered headdress which he wears. They think that the Indians once possessed the same general character with the Sun, that he has retained his original powers and they have degenerated to their present degraded situation. He is supposed to go under the Island at night for rest. The moon is supposed to be the brother of the Sun, and they formerly had numerous relatives who warred against each other and were all killed, and these wars occasioned the present employment of the younger brother, the moon.

776 All four of the modern informants called the sun "brother." All called the moon "brother," also, except J. W., who said it was known as grandmother, that she takes care of the weather, but is closest to the people.

10. Eclipses

John Johnston—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by 821
one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or
some other calamity which they think will shortly come.

Captain Pipe—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man [787
as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in [776] ●
the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing 765]
else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is
protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief.

Captain Chipps—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

John Johnston—Meteors: They suppose them to be omin- 821
ous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of 787
them and says see that star they think that person will not live
long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn [824]
into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which
will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls.

Captain Pipe—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus
described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the
Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When
one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by [577]
the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place
of refuge.

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

821 787 wind and looked up and saw a comet shaped like a head dripping fire and blood out of the mouth, coming from the West and going North and East, about five years before the World War.

W. T.—Meteors foretold the direction of a big wind coming the next day—they were already on the move.

18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon

821 782 Captain Chipps—When they see the new moon, they thank the Great Spirit that they have lived to see it.

John Johnston—They do not at present but they say it was anciently a custom to offer some kind of a sacrifice.

821 *19. Calculation on time of reappearance of moon*

Captain Pipe—Nor can they calculate with certainty the time of its reappearance.

Religion

21. Concept of Supreme Being

776 John Johnston—They do [have concept of Supreme Being], and distinguish him by calling him the creator of us all and of all things.

Captain Pipe—They believe in one Supreme Being, who is known generally by the appellation *Keshaallemöönkungk*, "He who created us by his thought;" and sometimes *Kaataunnetöōwit*, The great spirit, from *Khit*, great; or *Waalseet Maunŭtoo*, He who is the good spirit, from *Woolit*, good. They suppose that this being created the world and remained sometime upon earth, having the moral superintendency of all affairs therein, and that having perfected the system which he commenced he left it.

Captain Chipps—They believe in one God, who is "God of the black as well as the white"—they suppose he lives in some world above this earth.

22. Subordinate deities

John Johnston—They believe in twelve subordinate deities placed in different grades descending from the highest to the lowest, they think the lowest is on earth among them but in-

visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the 776
next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated
to the Supreme being.

Captain Pipe—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals,
and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as
beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious
belief by the great distinction in the language, which included
trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings,
and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been
prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment [783]
from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream,
or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming [781]
to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a
Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such [787]
dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject,
and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some
of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them
and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful
appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap [688]
to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. *Evil spirits*

John Johnston—They believe in but one evil spirit which 776
is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but 773
he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation
of all things to the supreme being but contended that he
had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that
the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into
the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason
(they say) why guilty folk always look down.

Captain Pipe—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune 776
is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They
are called *Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk*, (Those who are bad
Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations.

Captain Chipps—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

784 825 John Johnston—Their principal reason is that the snake is such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

Captain Chipps—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

Birth and Its Incidents

89. *Naming of child*

553 [796] Captain Pipe—Children are named at one of the grand worshiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to [776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[846] 851 553 Captain Chipps—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two, sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

welder and John Johnston said that the proportion was rather 842
more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children 163

Zeisberger gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

Heckewelder said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

Van der Donck said that both men and women commonly 582
got married only when they were fit to do so.

Death and Its Incidents

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated 128
by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

Captain Pipe—As soon as life leaves the body some distant 764
relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; [177]
anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, [761
because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might 776]
restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

fortune which can be attributed to the malignant spirit of the 769 765
deceased.

They never burn the bodies of the deceased persons, nor do 764
they take up the bones for reinterment. They say that the Nanticokes were in the habit of placing the body of the deceased upon a scaffold, where it was suffered to remain until the flesh decayed, when the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last duties to the bones. At this time a dance, called the Spirit dance, took place, in which they had the figure of a human being drawn upon a skin which was stretched over a hoop and suspended in the air. Under this figure sat the singers who continued their songs all the night, for if one of them thro' indolence or excessive fatigue stopped his song, it was an indication of his speedy death. The day succeeding the dance the friends assembled again at the same spot and large presents were distributed by one of the near relatives of the deceased. This man held in his hand a small ball, and placing himself in the midst of a circle formed by the spectators he would pretend to make frequent attempts to throw the ball out of the ring. At length he would throw it where it was least expected, and he who was so fortunate as to catch it received a portion of the presents. This was repeated until all the goods were given out, and at each return of the ball the figure on the skin was made to bow to it. After the distribution of the goods the bones were collected, put into a kind of box and buried in the ground. If a death happened at a distance from the village, as in hunting or on a journey, the flesh was separated from the bones by cutting, the bones were burned until they became perfectly dry and then transported to the place of burial, where the same ceremonies took place.

As Mr. Heckewelder has said, many ceremonies take place at [776]
the interment of a distinguished personage, which are not common on other occasions; such are distributing presents, feasting etc.; but the general customs are such as have been here related.

They sometimes put articles of furniture or clothing in the graves, as a gun for a man, a kettle for a woman; but this is not considered necessary, and arises only from the desire of the relatives to express some marked esteem for the deceased.

224 622 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 779] 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hăgginj, hă, hă, hă; Hăgginj hă; Hăgginj hă,Hăgginj hă, hă, hă, hă,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. *Celebration on returning from hunting*

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

342. *Extirpation of beard*

302 [142] J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931

NM7 Delaware NM7

774 Zeisberger over 150 years ago was attracted sufficiently by the interest attached to these terms to devote attention to them in a paragraph which coincides with and corroborates the testimony of today.

"They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in immortality of the soul, some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only [775] their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before."[1] The journey of the soul from the time of death until it reaches the abode of the Great Spirit has been revealed in a vision to Chief Elkhair and will be found in the appendix, note III.

776 THE SUPREME DEITY.—The concept of a supreme creative force is a well defined property of Delaware belief, denoted by the term ke'tan'to'wit, the close equivalent of which is "Great Power" or "Great Spirit." The same force is denoted as kice'ləmu'kaɔŋg, "Creator." Herein lies the concept of the authorship of life and creation, but as to details of the character and appearance of the Supreme Power we have here no more to rely upon than we do in the case of other creeds whose notions of the ultimate divinity are equally vague. The Great Spirit, however, is "Father"[2] to the Delawares, whose supplication in all the endeavors of life are constantly directed to him, whose gratitude is constantly expressed to him in endless variety of thoughts recognizing him as the source from which come the blessings of the universe. A realization of the frailty of human power is deeply imbued in the mind of the Delawares. Without the guidance of their "Father," life to them would be hopelessly futile. But the minions of the Great Spirit, the "grandfathers," or man·i'tˑu of the universe created by him and the elemental forces of Nature are also remembered in the worship of the Great Spirit. As we observe the carved images of the Great Spirit adorning the center post of the Big House at a greater height than the surrounding images on the side posts, so the Great Spirit resides in his abode above the lesser Gods who inhabit the air, the earth, the water, and the underworld. In the topmost of the twelve "levels of light" (pi·'taə'p·an·e) he dwells. He holds a staff that reaches downward to the earth and is symbolized in

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[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131.

[2] The consanguinity of man and the spirit-forces is to be discussed further on page 32. The only exception, among the eastern nations, to the habit of regarding the Great Spirit as Father, seems to be that of the Shawnee to whom the personage is moco·mθon·a "Our Grandmother."

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the center posts of the Big House, to repeat what has already been 776 observed. Thus the middle post with the two largest images carved on its opposite sides, east and west, is the emblem of contact between the Great Spirit and man, a symbol of the maintenance of life. Extending, as it is believed, from the earth to the twelfth tier of the heavens, the right hand of the Great Spirit rests upon its top. "It holds steadfast the Delaware religion and it is the base of all other Indian religions."[1] To him in his twelfth heaven, as it were, the worshipers in the Big House "lift their prayer" in unison by raising their voices in the prayer-call, "ho" given twelve times. With the prayer sticks, twelve in number, (six plain and six decorated with [778] burned stripes, fig. 24) thrust in the air toward the top of the center posts where the mask-images stare placidly upon them, the worshipers lift their prayer to him as evidence of their fidelity.

There is, in addition to the synonyms given as denoting the Great Spirit, another interesting appellation recorded in 1670 among the Delawares of New Jersey by the Dutch travelers Dankers and Sluyter.[2] We are informed that "the first and great beginning of all things was *Kickeron* or *kickerom*, who is the original of all, who has not only once produced or made all things but produces every day." Brinton with his usual easy conviction reveals the "significance of this word," giving it the rendering of "Life, Light, Action or Energy." He adds "It is the abstract conception back of all these." While the term may indeed have had a place among the synonyms designating the ruling deity among the Delaware of the 17th century, it would seem to have either disappeared in later times or to be a distortion of the title ke'kayə'm'he's, "governor, elder, or head-officer, president" which our informant affirms is applicable to a man, but not to a spirit.

It is important to note at this point that the term ki'tei ma'nitu, which has such a widespread use among the Algonkian in general as a designation of the Supreme Power is not employed by the pagan Delawares in referring to their deity. They do, however, comprehend the term as meaning "Real Spirit," (ki'tei·, "real") not Great Spirit, as it is translated from Ojibwa, Potawatomi and other tongues.[3] Yet [illegible]

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[1] The familiar concept of the sky-tree in Iroquois mythology (Hewitt, Parker) exhibits some analogies to this belief. Its frequent representation in the pictography of the Iroquois has been touched upon by Parker (A. C. Parker, The Tree Symbol in Iroquois Mythology, American Anth. Volume XIV, Number 4, 1912). Similar interpretation seems implied in the ideography of the Delaware Walam Olum (Brinton, I, pp. 170-217), and in the symbolical motives of decoration of the tribes of southeastern New England (F. G. Speck Decorative Art of the Indians of Connecticut, Memoir 75, Geological Survey of Canada, 1915); a topic of research now being pursued by Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon.

[2] Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, p. 268. Translation in Transactions of the Long Island Hist. Soc., (Brooklyn 1867). Quoted and discussed by Brinton, The Lenape and their Legends, Philadelphia 1885, p. 132-3.

[3] So far as the Delaware are concerned the suppositions entertained by some ethnologists who have expressed the belief that this form of the name for the Great Spirit is of Christian origin, are borne out.

Yes

771 it is still of equal importance to note that ki'tci·mani'tu is employed among the Delaware only by the Christian converts. I have previously mentioned the habit of the unconverted group of the tribe to avoid using religious terms adopted by their Christian kinsmen.

Radin[1] has expressed an opinion quite generally entertained among American ethnologists, that amid the varied types of disposition exhibited among savage as well as civilized people, it is those individuals of a religious and aesthetic temperament that the population finds its religious leaders, and that such minds are, in different races and regions, the authors of definitely monotheistic systems of thought. This [772] seems applicable to the Delawares, for it is the visionaries who hold the preeminence of leadership in the ceremonies and who are at the same time the leaders of thought. They constitute, indeed, an eclectic priestly group in the tribe, though in ordinary life they are but laymen.

As we have it, the worship of the Supreme Deity and the lesser deities in Delaware offers a noteworthy correspondence to holy adoration in the Roman Church—to latry and dulia. Were it not for the fact that the Delawares were never under the ministrations of Roman Catholic evangelists it might seem that the Indians attempted an interpretation of the forms of Catholicism in their own terms, compromising with Christianity by refusing conversion and baptism but assimilating part of the doctrine.

776 In regard to this Zeisberger writes, "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else."[2] Heckewelder offers practically the same testimony, while earlier and later authors repeat what we also find in our text, a summary of evidence sufficient to establish the fact for Delaware belief that a Supreme Creative power with indications of anthropopathetic qualities, overtops the pantheism.[3] Heckewelder says, "It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior Mannittos, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests:[4] these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger."[5]

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[1] Paul Radin, *Monotheism Among Primitive Peoples*, Lond. (1924) (Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, v. 7).

[2] *Zeisberger*, op. cit., p. 128.

[3] The entire range of the Delaware religious phenomena, from secondary sources, has been reviewed and discussed sagely by P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. (Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929, II Teil, 408-448). Father Schmidt favors the idea of the aboriginal grasp of the Supreme Being concept among the Delawares.

[4] The term oka'lasme denotes the proportion of supernatural strength possessed by the man·i't·uwak, given them by the Great Spirit.

[5] *Heckewelder*, op. cit., p. 212.

And also Heckewelder, "But amidst all these superstitious notions, 776 the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make their solemn sacrifices."[1]

THE SUBORDINATE DEITIES.—The concepts denoted by the term man·i′t·u seem to have been the cause of some perplexity and discussion among students of Algonkian culture.[2] The difficulty has not been so much with the general connotation of the term but as to how it may be translated. Its variants occur throughout the Algonkian family of languages and its application is likewise much the same. The man·i′t·u concept is accordingly a general religious philosophical one, the understanding of which is hardly to be gained from any single source. Hence the use of the Delaware form of the term can contribute to, but not afford a final solution to the problem. And the contribution of the Delaware information is worthy of consideration, although providing no new aspects of thought beyond what has been defined in the treatment given it by other writers. In Delaware the pronunciation of the word is man·i′t·u (plural man·i′t·owak‘). As to its rendering into English I have come to the decision of using an

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[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 213.

[2] Among the foremost contributors to the discussion on this term has been William Jones. ("The Algonkian Manitou," Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. xviii, 1905, pp. 183-190). Jones proposed a range of limitation to its meaning. "The Algonkian conception of the manitou is bound up with the manifold ideas that flow from an unconscious relation with the outside world. It is embodied in all forms of religious belief and practice, and is intimately associated with customs and usages that bear upon life and its welfare." He concludes, "It has been observed that there is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature; that the conception of the property can be thought of as impersonal, but that it becomes obscure when the property becomes identified with objects in nature; that it manifests itself in various forms; and that its emotional effect awakens a sense of mystery; that there is a lively appreciation of its miraculous efficacy; and that its interpretation is not according to any regular rule, but is based on one's feelings, rather than one's knowledge. Such in very brief statement is the conception of the manitou of three Algonkin peoples,—the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo. It seems probable that the same thing holds true of other Algonkians, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Menomini, and others of the central group. It would be interesting to know if the same conception in its general features extends to all other members of the family."

A. F. Chamberlain proposed the definition, "mysterious and unknown potencies and powers of life and of the universe," (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Eth., Vol. 1, p. 800). Its acceptance into the English dictionary under the definition as "one of the powers or spirits which dominate the forces of nature," seems to bear the mark of Chamberlain's influence.

A. B. Skinner (Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. xviii, No. cix, 1915, pp. 258-261), employing Menomini and Ojibwa data challenges the definition offered and refers the disputed term to "a God, or Godlike power" (the Supreme Being, or creator and the nature forces), "the supernatural power imparted by one of these gods to a mortal being," and, as an adjective, to "anything mental or immortal, animate or inanimate, which is the seat of supernatural power granted by any one of those beings possessing it." Similar phraseology might be applied to the Delaware conception of man·i′t·u as we encounter it in both living and literary sources.

776 abbreviated composite term, "Spirit-force'"[1] as an equivalent in the translations. Man·i'·t·u is applied to both supreme and the subordinate deities, the symbols of deities, the elements of nature, animals, trees, herbs, the force that dominates them and which transcends to man as a motive agent, and, we may feel assured, many other manifestations of a sort recognized in the inner linguistic and religious consciousness of the Delawares that are quite beyond their capacity to express in English. My idea of the rendering "Spirit-force" for the term is not to adopt an equivalent that is definitive but rather one that suggests the vagueness of the idea we have of it, and yet emphasizes some of the properties implied in the term. Hence I am willing to concede that it might be advisable simply to carry over the native term itself into the translations and discussion. In the choice of the two courses, however, the more economical and unilingual English designation has seemed preferable. It will be time enough later, I believe, to theorize upon the totality of the natural philosophy of the man·i'·t·u concept when we obtain further specific information so much needed from Algonkian groups as yet unstudied.

Returning to consideration of the Delaware term, we find in the anonymous manuscript of Moravian authorship edited by Brinton,[2] manitto, "maker, creator, God," with an emendation by Anthony, the Munsee collaborator, "properly spirit, not maker," (manitou to make.)[3] Harrington[4] ascribes the meaning of "invisible beings," to the term in its plural form (manitowuk) some great, others of lesser influence, who control the phenomena of nature, the affairs of mankind, the entire world as we know it, in some of which good predominates, in other evil.

Zeisberger has some discussion of the man·it·u as a personal guardian spirit revealed to the individual who appeals to its mercy (see p. 52) but he has little to say pertinent to the man·i'·t·u concept as we are considering it here.

In the present text we are taught, as the followers of the native religion in the Big House, are that the man·i'·t·u are in most cases "grandfathers" in others "elder brothers," and include the wild animals, trees, sun, moon, stars, thunders and other natural forces with deistic traits. The carved faces in the Big House represent them collectively, except for the larger images on the center post which represent the Supreme man·i'·t·u, the Creator. All are esteemed in a mental attitude of combined worship and prayer, in Delaware paʷtaman.

776 608 TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY APPLIED TO SPIRITUAL FORCES.—The designation of individual dieties of a native pantheon by terms of human

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[1] While the verb man·i·to'wak, "they make" occurs in the text, it is not admitted as sufficient for an equivalent in full.

[2] Brinton II, p. 74.

[3] Ibid. II, p. 73.

[4] Harrington I, p. 17.

776 606 consanguinity is to be noted widely in native American religious systems. The Delawares share this phenomenon. The relationship classification of the various spiritual forces recognized is given in the following grouping.

muxo·ʷmesən·a, "our grandfather."
  Eagle, ai'xam, and feathers mi·'kwəna.
  Air, geᵊ'exiŋ
  Planets and heavenly bodies as revealed in dreams and visions, moca·p·an·o'k·e·s (lit. "sky-creators")
  Thunders, pe'tʰhakʰowe'yək
  Trees, hi't'kukᵊ
  Vegetation, peᵊmi·alomi'taᵊakaᵊ
  Carved Faces in the Big House, mesi'ŋgək
  Turtle-rattles, cux'əni·'k·an·ak
  Water, ᵐbi·
  Fire, te'n·dai
  Tobacco, kʷcaᵊ'taiᵊ
ko'xəman·a, "our grandmother."
  Herb medicines, pi·'sun
  Corn, xa'skwi·m
ni·ma'xtəs·on·a, "our brother," or xaᵊ'sana "our elder brother."
  Turtle, ta'xkoxkᵊ
  Snow, kuᵊn
  Bear, ma'xkʷ
  Animals (ae'səsak) in general considered as existing in clan relationship with humans. The latter are "kings" among animals.
  Night sun, moon (male), ni·'pai· gi·'cux
  Day sun (male), gi·'ckwəni·i· gi·'cux
  Stars, lighting system, portion of the moon; ala'ŋgək
gahe'sana, "our mother."
  Sea, bodies of water, man·ə'p·e·k
  Running Water, ᵐbi· peᵊmi·'t·an·i·k'
  Earth, hak·iŋ
ko'xən·a, "our father."
  Great Spirit, keᵊtan'to'wi·t'

776 These deistic relatives of the Delawares all have their special functions to pursue under the surveillance of the "Great Spirit even the Creator." The missionary accounts and contemporary information from the living native worshipers coincide nicely in regard to the attributes of the graded spirit-forces. For some of them we have but a few remarks which will be found inserted as footnotes in the English translation of the text, for others, however, concerning which Witapano'xwe had explicit information to offer accumulating more than could well be condensed in such short space, separate treatment seems

required. These I propose to deal with in the following section as 776 man·i′t·u deserving of particular mention, since this seems to represent their standing in the minds of devout Delawares.

Not only is the principle of consanguinity applied to deities and 776 nature-forces, but to tribes and nations as well. Indeed the application 829 of term of relationship to bodies of extra-biological classification 605 is interesting enough to call for the inclusion of information given as a commentary on this point by Wi·tapano′xwe. With more detail to be secured it promises a fruitful problem for sociological interpretation. The informant's notes on the quasi-consanguinity of tribes are as follows. The Delawares believe that they are the oldest of the Indians. They call the following tribes "grand children," Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, Chippewa, Menomini, Winnebago. And these, in turn, call the Delawares, Wabanaki, Lenape, or else "Grandfathers,"—but, adds Wi·tapano′xwe, we are all "brothers," i. e. Indians. There are the Nanticoke, Mahikan, Munsee and Iroquois who are called brothers, relative age not specified, in spite of the fact that the Delawares assume to be older than they. There are other tribes which have different relationship with the Delawares, for example the Wyandots, Seneca and Cherokee are called "nephews" (either filial or sororal) and the Mexicans are called "uncles." To white people the general term, meaning "brothers" is applied, while negroes are termed "elder brothers," being considered the strongest of all races.[1]

THE CARVED IMAGES.—The concepts involved in the use of carved 532 images in the likeness of the human face represent a phase of religious 778 thought that has developed some exceptional prominence among the being, taken from the discussions of Zeisberger and Harrington, I 1778 will let Wi·tapano'xwe place forth in his own words the pertinent 532 remarks relative to it which he dictated to me.

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[1] Zeisberger, (op. cit., p. 109) gives information corresponding to that of our informant, when he says that the "Shawnose" call the Delaware "grandfather." In regard to the "Mahikanders" we find a contradiction, and so are not able to compare the author's remarks with those in the text. Zeisberger also says that the Wiandots (Wyandots) and the Cherokees call the Delaware "grandfather," which differs from the information brought forward by our informant who considers them to be "nephews" of the Delaware. One infers from Zeisberger that the Delawares called the Twitchtwes (Miami), Wawiachtanos (a group of Mahikan), Kikapus, Chipuways, Ottawas, Putewoatalmen (Potawatomi) "brothers," differing from our information which states that the above tribes are known as "grandchildren," except when they were termed "brothers," implying that they were Indians similar to the Delawares. Zeisberger gives no kinship term as being applied to the negroes by the Delaware. He says: "These (the negroes) are looked upon as of their own kind and 582 allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood." 145

Heckewelder, op. cit., notes the Shawnee (p. 86) and the Chipewa (p. 124) as being grandchildren of the Delaware, which is similar to the information given us by Wi·tapano′xwe, but in the case of the Chippewa he differs from Zeisberger. Heckewelder notes (page 122) that the Nanticoke and Mahican call the Delaware "grandfather" which differs from the information in our text where they are said to be "brothers." Again a difference is observed between Heckewelder and our informant in regard to the Wyandot and Cherokee who are, according to Heckewelder, "grandchildren" of the Delawares, yet, according to our informant are "nephews."

THE MASK DANCE.—The False Face, or Mask, performance seems 796 to possess indications of being an archaic mask-ceremony admitted into the annual Big House ritual during some phase of its later development. It bears some analogies suggestive at once of the game-owner concept that is met with among the Algonkian hunter-nomads of the far north, the Montagnais-Naskapi. In particular we note that the mask and bear-hide clothing are kept away from the precincts of the Big House until the time assigned for their appearance by permission of the master-of-ceremony. The Mask dancer does not remain long in the Big House, nor is his action there in any sense an obligation. Occasionally no one volunteers for the dance and then it is omitted. The informant himself had assumed the rôle several times and he seemed to regard it as lacking in theological significance from the point of view of the Big House doctrine. He related in this connection, how the chief function of the Mask dancer was to frighten children before and after his appearance in the Big House. The songs accompanying the Mask-Spirit dance (mas·iŋgkə'n·t'ke') were not completely known to him. In one of these the words refer to the Mask-Spirit riding on the back of the deer.[1]

The Mask-Spirit seems to hold potency of both good and evil influence. There is the narrative of a man (Ben Horse) who had come under the power of the Mask-Spirit to such a degree that he was occasionally subjected to its control and fell to performing the antics of the Mask dancer to the point of dementia. A medicine-doctor called upon to free him from this influence ordered him to make a mask and perform the dance at certain times. This eventually cured him and he became the custodian of his mask and developed into a Mask-dancer. An insight into the function of this rite is also given by the narrative of another, a woman, terrified by the Mask-Spirit requiring similar remedial treatment of the mask. And we also hear of some children once so frightened that they ran several miles from the camp and were overtaken with difficulty by their parents whom they took also to be masked pursuers in their confusion of flight.

The Mask-Spirit as a potentially malicious spirit is clearly totally different in conception from six carved faces, "our grandfathers," appearing on the posts of the Big House.

We are taught in the text that the mas·i'ŋk'həli'kan is like the 796 other man·i't·u deserving of adoration for the blessing he bestows upon 776 hunters in allowing them to kill the deer, over whom he seems to act

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[1] Another reflection of the tale known as Caribou-Man among the Naskapi of the north.

the part of custodian.[1] Harrington felt that this was the "most 796
remarkable deity of the Lenape," who was "made guardian by the 776
creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and was sometimes seen riding on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lived in a range of rocky mountains. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long black hair like that of a bear."[2]

A certain amount of supernatural ability seems to be required of the individual who is to wear properly and display the mask. One who has this spiritual quality to a high degree finds himself able to see as well when wearing the mask, despite the smallness of the eye-openings, as though he were bare-eyed. His spiritual power, we are told, is thus tested; he partakes of the qualities of the prophet, kaci·lə'su "great man." Other notes on the wearing of the mask are to be found in the text, page 93.

Before passing on, however, reference should be made to customs concerned with the mask recorded by the authors mentioned above. Zeisberger describes this as follows:

"The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly 778
be called an idol, is their Wainkhoalican, that is image. It is an
image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which [532]
they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.[3]

Brainerd had occasion to observe the performance of the Mask- 796
Spirit in 1745, on the upper Susquehanna, and wrote of the appearance of the Mask Dancer with "a coat of bear skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear skin stockings; and a great wooden mask painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music, in his idolatrous worship, which
was a dry tortoise shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it [534]
drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle."[4]

There seems, however, to be something omitted in recording these 778
facts. A much more intimate connection between the mask itself and

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[1] A hunter's taboo, founded supposedly upon some ancient principle of altruism, is that the first deer or other animal killed by the hunter be not eaten. The meat is given to some older person. The slayer never gets even a bite. Some phase of this rule is to be noted for every northern Algonkian tribe, though in no case have I as yet been fortunate enough to elicit a religious reason for it among the hunters who follow the practice.

[2] Harrington, I, p. 32-33.

[3] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 141.

[4] Brainerd, op. cit., p. 237.

796 778 The mask rite, says Wi·tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

[562] Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

174 796 776 To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

825 773 778 THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

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[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

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clusion, add something to our idea of another side of the character 825
of this knowing and potent reptile, so important to the religious sense 778
of the Delaware.

"The turtle is in its way an evil thing, yet not so evil as a snake which is controlled by the Evil Spirit and has also human face-paint patterns. The Turtle can hurt human-beings. Once a boy caught a water-turtle and turned him on his back. The Turtle got mad; raised himself on his legs stiffly. The Turtle raised himself, and launched himself through the air and struck the boy on his head and nearly killed him. The Turtle has a weapon in the sharp frontal plates."

FIRE SYMBOLISM.—Among the spirit-forces of Delaware cosmology 822
"Our Grandfather Fire" (to'n·dai') is held in high esteem. The 776
adoration of fire, however, is not sufficiently exclusive to justify the 372
Delawares being called pyrolatrists. Fire, as a spirit-force subordinate to the Great Spirit, is an agency of purification and invigoration. In the Big House ceremony the rite of kindling new fire with the consecrated fire-drill takes place to the accompaniment of an appropriate prayer on the ninth night from the lips of the Bringer-in, or Master of Ceremonies. The new fire is thus "pure," since it is made with the implements granted by the Great Spirit. The coming of the white man within the horizon of Delaware culture introducing matches into the native economy has undoubtedly served to throw the sanctity of the fire-drill into a higher light. But it would, I believe, be quite erroneous to undervalue the attitude of reverence, both in thought and ritual, which is held toward fire in native culture throughout the east.[1] To the Delaware ceremonialists the making of new, "pure" fire symbolizes "renewing of life, fresh vigor, the breathing of pure air uncontaminated by latent forces of disease, new and pure influences for life and health." It is one of the forces to which tobacco is constantly offered, and is an auxiliary to the use of cedar as [782]
incense in the act of purification.

Both Zeisberger and Harrington lay stress on the deification of fire among the Delawares.[2] In the Big House the two fires maintained throughout the ceremony east and west of the center-post,

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[1] Some writers who have dealt with fire-worship among the eastern Indians seem to have gone too far in defining them as outright sun- and fire-worshipers, through exaggeration of the importance of fire ceremonies described in the older accounts. That the Delawares have been more conservative in regard to admitting innovations into their ceremonies is shown by the fact that the Yuchi, in whose annual ceremony the kindling of new fire is an important act, have condescended to use flint and steel (F. G. Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anth. Pubs. Univ. of Penna. Mus., vol. I No. 1 (1910), pp. 120-1). On the other hand we know of perpetual fire being maintained in village temples among some of the early peoples of the southeastern area; evidence that must be given full weight in considering the question of pyrolatry in eastern America.

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., pp. 138-139, Harrington, (I) passim.

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822
776 where they burn under the gaze of the carved images of the Great
372 Spirit on the post, represent the actual presence of this mighty spirit-force.

821 **STARS AS SPIRIT-FORCES.**—Among the man·i'tʻu mentioned in the text, the stars are given a prominent place. They too are "grandfathers" who, we are told, render service in assisting the moon to illuminate the night. It will be noticed that they receive a large share of reverence in the annual ceremony through being mentioned frequently in the adorational addresses. In the quaint phraseology of Wi·tapano'xwe we learn that the Great Dipper of European star-lore is called in Delaware $ma_{\chi}k^{w}$, "Bear." The head of the Bear is separate from the body. The legend tells us that the body is trying to catch up with the head, in which event the world will come to an end. Wi·tapano'xwe explained further that the stars of *corona borealis* formed the Bear's head which the animal is ever trying to reach. In Wabanaki star-lore this is the bear's den of hibernation from which the hunters, those three stars forming the so-called tail of the Bear (the handle of the Great Dipper in European belief), have driven the animal. It is said, by the same people, that the Bear is slain in the fall of the year, that its blood reddens the leaves of the trees and its fat when tried-out causes the earth to be covered with a white mantle, the snow. The subsequent portions of the tale seem not to have come forth as yet in Delaware mythology, although Zeisberger relates the outline of a legend of the Bear group in which the Bear is pursued by Indians "with a little dog; the three stars in the form of a triangle represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down."[1]

The Delawares believe that some of the stars are living beings. For example the seven stars, known as asi·'skʷtaya'sək, "bunched-up," bear the identity of clean or holy men, prophets. They are known only to shamans or those who possess supernatural power. The legend says that at one time seven meteors fell from the sky partly burying themselves in the ground. Some shamans soon discovered them and they disappeared. The shamans found them again in the form of seven pine trees. They used to consult with these pine trees. Finally they became transformed into the seven stars.[2]

The informant adds: "The Delawares recognize the morning star, the evening star, and a constellation known as beast chasing the bear; At a certain season of the year you will find the leaves of the forest lying on the ground, appearing to be greasy and covered with spots of water. If at this time of year the beast has caught the bear the greasiness of the leaves is believed due to the bear-grease. Another large constellation near that of the bear represents his nest or den."

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[1] Op. cit., p. 148.

[2] See Appendix, Note II.

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was noteworthy to the early missionaries among the Delawares, who 787 spoke frequently of it.

"Most extraordinary experiences have been met with by boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, when they have been alone in the forest in apprehension and in need. An old man in a gray beard may have appeared and said in soothing tone, "Do not fear, I am a rock and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth and of every living creature therein, of the air and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm and thou needest not to fear any man." Such and similar prophecies he makes. Such a boy ruminates upon what he has heard and is confirmed in the opinion as he grows up that a peculiar power has been imparted to him to perform extraordinary exploits, and he imagines that no one can do him injury. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must learn from experience how far he can go, his imagination inspiring him to make every effort."[1]

"They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding [776] the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high and proud spirit.[2]

Dr. Benedict has successfully classified the distribution of native theories of vision inducement and of involuntary spirit possession, as falling within areas east and west of the Rocky Mountains respectively. In the personal experiences of the Delawares the theories are combined, though the former, that of inducement, is stressed. "To be pitied by the spirits" is the proper mental attitude of vision inducement characteristic of the Delawares.

There are opportunities for psychological analysis latent in this behavior, but these I shall pass by. To give the native information in

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[1] The phenomenon of belief that the individual holds himself as being invulnerable even to bullets is recorded of the early Delawares (Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 127), the same fatalism being known among the Plains Indians.

[2] Zeisberger, pp. 132-133.

Here on each side three tents[1] are provided. In the first[2] there 539x
camps the leading Attendant, from here outwards the rest of the Attendants. 796
When any one of these Attendants does not serve, he can hire a substitute to provide fire-wood or to sweep in the Big House, and occasionally to cook.[3]

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[1] hemsi·k·as'wan·a', "cloth houses" (plural).

[2] Meaning nearest to the door of the Big House.

[3] For the service he pays in wampum.

The Delawares were given the Mask-Image[1] so it became the rule 539x
that whoever owns that mask should take it into the Big House each 776
year, that mask, because it is he who has complete control over all the 778
wild animals. And it is said that our grandfather[2] is believed to walk [776]
around early each morning. Now here he goes about frightening unruly children. When the "one who is our grandfather begs," the child is taught that he shall pay a plug of tobacco so that he will not scare them.

If the person who assumes to wear the mask is able to see clearly[3] for a long distance it is said that he is a man of power. He carries a turtle-rattle[4] and a staff of twisted wood.[5] When the mask [293]
makes his utterance it resembles a horse whinnying, and when he makes signals using his turtle-rattle, then they give him tobacco. Customarily he kicks at persons. Here in a pouch he carries that tobacco. Every child customarily is taught that he gathers snakes and throws them into that pouch in order that no one may steal our grandfather's tobacco. And it is also said that our grandfather keeps guard over all so that no one may be overcome by disease. That also is the teaching in reference to the spiritual doctrine of the Mask-Image.

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[1] The following passage refers to the mask image mes·i'ŋghɔli·'k·an about which something has been said in the introduction. The composite character of the annual ceremony is shown by the admission of this rite into the ceremony complex in honor of the one who "has control over all the wild game."

[2] The spirit represented by the mask also falls into the classification of consanguinity, and is so addressed.

[3] This evidence of personal power has already been dealt with (page 41).

[4] The rattle referred to is not the small hand rattle carried by the reciter [534]
of visions but a large instrument made of a snapping-turtle shell provided with a wooden handle (16.7 in. in length) suggestive of the rattle employed in Iroquois dance accompaniments. Harrington describes and illustrates one of these Delaware instruments (I, pp. 32, 36, fig. 2). (See fig. 7, p. 38).

[5] The distribution of the walking staff as a ceremonial baton and its function in the ethnology of the eastern tribes has been generally overlooked by investigators yet we find evidence of its use over a wide area in the formalities of native behavior among both the Algonkian and Iroquois,—not to overlook [293]
the fact that the Delawares imagine the Great Spirit to possess one, the same being symbolized by the center post in the Big House. The Delaware designate the staff by ala'hɔ·n (cp. Malecite, abato'wan).

When the worship ceremony begins everyone is instructed to wear 539x
things conforming strictly to Delaware style, such for instance as the 796

other wild creature whatsoever, that is said to be pure spirit. And also 539x
those twelve face-images in the Big House, and those prayer-sticks,[1] 825
and the maize and fruit, all things indeed used in the Gamwing, it is [776]
said, are helpers when it comes to lifting up to the twelve levels of heaven above us where he dwells, our father the Great Spirit.

And also there is a ruling of custom. The religious obligations 539x
sometimes require that the speaker, when talking, it is said, names over 776
all these spirit-forces wherever they reside around the earth, calling upon them, as it is said: "Truly we are thankful that we have lived long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation.

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[1] The twelve peeled rods held in the hands of the worshippers when they "raise their prayer to the twelfth level of heaven" to the Great Spirit by crying "ho" six times and "ha" six times, and pointing with the sticks to the image on the center post of the Big House. They are denoted by the term mamendahi·'kan'ak "the means of earnest prayer." In Harrington's study of Delaware religion no mention is made of the exact function of the prayer sticks (Harrington I, p. 103), though in the Munsee corresponding ceremony they are described (ibid. p. 131) as being used to drum with in time to the music, by those who wish to pray. There is another omission in reference to the prayer sticks (ibid. p. 103). Harrington speaks of a particular way in which the sticks "fall opposite each other" but no explanation is made. Discussion of these details will be found on page 69.

[2] Among the tree "grandfathers" thought of in particular is the maple from the sap of which native sugar is made.

Reference to the gift of the maple in yielding its sap for human use is a
reminiscence of a widespread Algonkian usage. The Sugar Maple is sana'meci [824]
"rock-place tree" (the Red Maple is called ɔsi·'kames "grove tree"). This tree is the real Acer saccharum and is known to the Oklahoma Delaware only
by tradition since they remember it in the north. They make a sugar now [257]
from the Red Maple, not as strong in flavor as the other, but mixed with Box Elder (awi·'sai·t o'nass "yellow twig") and Black walnut tu'kwi·meci· "round-nut tree") but the latter has such a strong taste that only a little may be used. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 194) gives an account of Delaware sugar-making during the Ohio period.

Now as well for this water and for him our grandfather fire, and again this air, again this sunlight. When everyone has been blessed with such gifts it is enough to make one realize what kind of benevolence comes from our father, because he it is who has created everything."[1]

And now furthermore one more spiritual-force is said to be a part 539x
of creation up above. The first being mentioned is called day-moon,[2] 821
and the night traveler[3] is called night-moon. And of several kinds 776
of stars, the first one seen is that one from the sunrise direction, called

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[1] Zeisberger, before 1780 (op. cit. p. 129), had heard similar professions of gratitude; "They believe the Deity is graciously and mercifully disposed toward them, because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes the rain to fall, and the sun to shine and gives game to man for his support."

[2] The designations "day-moon" and "night-moon" are widespread in northern Algonkian, (Munsee, Cree, Montagnais-Naskapi). Luminary would be a more exact equivalent of gi·'cux

[3] For the moon to be figuratively denoted as "night-traveler" is common in Eastern Algonkian (ni·bau's·ite "night-walker," Penobscot, with cognates in the other Wabanaki languages; nanepaushat, Massachusetts (Trumbull, Natick Dict. p. 297).

Great Star.[1] Again seven stars, it is said, are sometimes at the noon- 539x
point[2] seen after dark. Those stars called the Bear;[3] also the head of 821
this one is separate. Now it is said that whenever that Bear shall catch 776
up with his head, then will be the end of the world.[4] And again another group is called Bunched-up,[5] seven is their number. And again here in the direction of sun-down, that evening-star is called kweᵉtci·'pon·eᵉa.[6] Thenceforth are other stars and moons. And there are also these Thunders, our grandfathers, even coming to those clouds, all called spirit-forces. And the sun, our elder brother, is considered a leading spirit-force up above, because he is a great person. By his breath he warms all the universe, and it is he also who lights up the day-time, and the night-sun. It is he who lights up the night-time. And those stars, in accordance with the strength given them, in proportion that serve and aid our father's, the Great Spirit's labors.

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[1] ma'xalaŋgʷ, "Great Star," a variant is ma'xkalaŋgʷ, "red star."

[2] Meaning at the zenith, regarded in Delaware sky-lore as the point half-way between the earth and the summit of the sky dome, as nearly as can be ascertained.

[3] The constellation Ursus Major has among the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and also the Algonkian south of the St. Lawrence, the same interpretation, as representing the celestial Bear. North of this dividing line of culture, however, the figure is changed to that of the Fisher (Mustela pennanti) or Marten. [171]
The explanatory myths are of an entirely different nature in the two areas. The tale in the northern area seems to have a circumpolar distribution in North America from the Athapaskans through the Cree to the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula, while the Bear legend of explanation traces to the southward. I have given some attention to this myth in a study of Penobscot tradition. (See also S. Hagar, Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 92; D. G. Brinton, Myths of the New World, Phila., 1896). (See previous discussion of star beliefs, p. 46).

[4] This vision of a celestial catastrophe reminds us again of the Delaware [773]
belief that when the Tortoise in his westward journey reaches the edge of the earth the world will come to an end.

[5] The word in the text is asi·'s·kᵉʷtaya's·ak, corresponding to Zeisberger's anschisktawewak which he calls firebrands laid together (op. cit. p. 148). His editor suggests Cassiopeia.

[6] Unfortunately the informant was unable to give a translation for this term.

And so this is what the Delawares understand; namely that some 539x
spirit-forces are able to control everything whatsoever, and some are 776
created with less strength. Therefore when a person acquires the 773
strength of a vision of some object or living being, he will obtain it [787]
in accordance with the strength imbued in the spiritual power which gives it to him.[1]

And now of the several kinds of spirits when they are spoken of, the tortoise is said to be a powerful being because he is able to bear up this our mother's body. That is why it is said he slowly moves, walking

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[1] This difficult passage is an example of the resourcefulness of the Delaware language. Two verbs, carry the much involved dominant ideas, paɔ't·ang neᵉ'xpeᵉlamu'kuk. The former contains the stem pao, universal in Algonkian, as denoting magical functioning (See Speck, Penobscot Shamanism. Mem. Anth. Assn., Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920, pp. 249-54) paɔ'lax being the Delaware for "fetish or charm," a spiritual agency; the second implies the meaning to be "born with power." Lindeström (1654-6) (op. cit. 207) discusses the term which he renders pååhra.

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deliberately, because he carries the whole earth. And he starts out, 539x
beginning walking from the direction of sunrise. It is said that when 776
he arrives at the edge of the earth, it will seem like but a short time, 773
namely, for instance we may say like one eye-wink.[1] But because of his slowness of movement afoot; that is why it seems so long before he shall have traversed this world. For, whenever they see him in the wilderness he is going toward the direction of sun-set.[2] And now it shall be, when he has completed his road, then shall come to end this earth.

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[1] Meaning that to man's sense of time it seems like a long epoch, but in reality it forms but an instant when the tortoise shall have performed the journey imposed upon him by the Great Spirit. This is quite an unexpected philosophical allusion to the classical problem of relativity in time.

[2] The Delawares entertain the notion that all the tortoises seen in the woods are, unless their movements have been temporarily disturbed, headed westward [825]
in their journey across the continent imposed upon their race until the day of doom. Here is something for the naturalist to disprove!

Some persons when endowed with shaman power, it is said, can 539x
use it against anyone when they are angry. And that is the cause of 754
some persons' disability[1] or the cause of persons going blind. And 776
he may even decide that he can kill with it. And that is called evil 825
conjuring.[2]

Now the non-beneficent spirit-force has shaman power wherefore a person can employ that Spiritual force for evil purpose. For, it is said by tradition, evil things belong to the Evil Spirit,[3] the cat, panther, or long-tail[4] and the snake, and also the lizard[5] and in-

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[1] Literally ɔktcɔkas'tʼan, "crooked leg," in this case meaning rheumatism or other forms of lameness.

[2] The non-benevolent practice of conjuring; witchcraft or black-magic which is as much condemned by the natives as by the mediaeval Europeans. Algonkian shamanistic accounts are fraught with both phases of the practice. So baneful is the recitation even of this information that Wi·tapano'xwe insisted it be kept out of the main body of the text.

[3] maxta'nᵋtuᵋ, "Evil Spirit" has its closest analogy in Wabanaki, madaha'n·do, the term being mentioned by Father Rasles (1723) in his manuscript dictionary of Abenaki.

[4] The eastern panther (Felis cougar) only recently considered to be extinct in the Pennsylvania mountains, is known in Delaware by the peculiarity of its length of tail kweᵋmi·ckwu'n·ayas "long tail." The same descriptive term is applied to the animal by the Wabanaki (pi·ᵋta'lu, "long tail"). An interesting mention of panther hunting in Pennsylvania, but erroneously illustrated, is given by Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist in "The Foresters," published in his Portfolio 1812.

[5] This is a very old term referring to a legendary monster of lizard form, living in trees, running so swiftly as to overtake a man with ease. In early times a portion of its tail was secured by some means, it is related, and kept in possession by some malicious conjurors to work evil to mankind. A portion of the dried tail was scraped and put into the food of the intended victim causing him to die slowly by a wasting malady. The term is most interesting philologically, a variant in Brinton's Lenape Dictionary (p. 38) gegachxs (ch = x), evidently a Munsee cognate, in Nanticoke, oh !kaush-kiss, (Speck, The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, p. 62) and occurring in Wabanaki (Penobscot) as akada'lak', denoting the salamander in lieu of the lizard which does not occur so far north. A corruption of the word in Penobscot becomes a woman's cry of surprise and fear. The word is evidently a very ancient reptilian designation. I had occasion to observe the application of this word to the

eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the 539x
folk-belief from Wi·tapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some
to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing 754
death. 776
825

sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

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[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko'ᶜkoᶜ in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurors. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani peyɔ'l·ak· "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohi·'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 8, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source 539x
of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently 861
there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught 787
how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2]

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

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[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

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So I pray that everyone help. If accordingly everyone does all in his power, earnestly praying with all his heart, it might occasion those spirit-forces to hear our pitiful appeal, those who carry the power of blessing. And right here this evening in a little while we shall begin to feel ourselves being touched by our grandfathers[1] who move this our prayer-worship. 539x 796 [781]

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[1] The various man·i't·u or spirit-forces of nature, some of which have been previously mentioned by the narrator. The spirits dwelling in the turtle-shells are one of the manifestations of the Great Spirit, who function in this reference as the spirits whose duty it is to "start moving" the ceremony. The "touch" here means the "spirit of control" or the force that keeps the worship alive. [776]

And now when worshiping, these Turkey-group people,[1] because they enter the Big House with the ceremony, that group is our old man[2] and our chief. He-Walks-Turning-Around-Slowly[3] is the one who brings in the ceremony.

When the Enterer begins the ceremony everything is prepared. Here at the middle of the right hand side, directly opposite where the stud-post stands, right here he conducts the worship—the Enterer. From this place is where they perform the vision recitations. These turtle-rattles are called our grandfathers. When they reach the place where the Master of Ceremonies sits,[4] he shakes the rattle, the leading rattle, and the follower answers him.[5]

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[1] It is assumed in the text by the narrator that the Turkey, or Fowl division of the tribe is assuming the obligation to "enter the Big House bringing" meaning to sponsor the ceremony.

[2] The simile here denotes that the Turkey division has senority over the other two so far as the period of the ceremony is concerned.

[3] The performance is to be recited as though it were being conducted by the present chief of the tribe, Charles Elkhair who has held the office since 1898, whose Delaware name is Ko·kwəl·əpo'χwe denoting someone who is walking along slowly then turns around in the opposite direction. The same chief was the host to the ceremony described by Harrington in 1912 (Harrington I, pp. 85-7). The informant planned the text to follow Elkhair's manner of conducting it because he had participated in it frequently under him and had a clearer recollection of his addresses and details of management.

[4] This statement brings to mind the important and oft-repeated reference to the Tortoise in his transit of the world as "carrying the ceremony." The rattles, made of the animals shells, we are told, are following the same allegorical course from east to west.

[5] The dance leader uses a somewhat smaller tortoise shell than the "following," hence the designation leading rattle, as though the rattle itself were an active agency.

Then these "cranes," or drummers,[1] beat three times the drum. First the dance leader strikes the drum once, and then the follower-singer, and the leader again. And then also he will say, he who is about to recite his vision and dance, "I now must worship!" And all the old men answer. They say, "Hau! Indeed it is truly fine, my brother!"

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[1] For some reason a simile has developed here by which the two men who attended to the drumming accompaniment are likened to Sandhill Cranes, [136]

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[Stop][1] That being there in the direction of the north, there I heard him. That Person every so often started running. Indeed more and more at the thing I became oppressed about what that Person said. And he says when he started running [Stop]. 539x 796 787

[The reciter repeats the chant as before while he dances around the circuit to the next station, fig. 12, to the accompaniment of the drumming.]

Truly thankful, my kindred, I am very glad that we have lived so far in good health and that I can bestow all kinds of spiritual blessings, even including all those of our grandfathers. And before long we shall shake hands with these "cranes"[2] who are lifting up the Delaware worship. That Being was speaking, saying every time that he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the third time.][3]

More and more clearly could I see that Person. I took it to be far away toward the north where it originated and it seemed, as I saw it going by, to be reddish in appearance. And he continued speaking, that Person, saying[4]

[The drummers repeat the chant, while the Reciter dances a certain distance, then says kwi· "stop," and pauses (at G on diagram (fig. 12)].

Truly it is unbecoming for me so weak, my kindred, but I shall nevertheless do as well as I can and with all my heart, pitiful me! for that is what I thought when I heard that Person saying, "My friend look at me carefully." Because he said, "I also bring blessings when I come here!" So it sounded when he started running.

[Repeat the chant for the fifth time].

Now, my kindred, I am very glad that I have reached this pure, clean White Path, and our Father's Road. And now here opposite we have come where our Grandfathers are standing.[5] And, as it is said, also we have heard how our deceased ancestors so carefully performed the rite. It is said that they called forth how many times to dance around the place where our Grandfather stands.[6] Let us, too, state

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[1] This exclamation which I place within brackets wherever it occurs, is a command to the drummers to cease. Elkhair is now supposed to be standing at one of the stopping places in the dance circuit, or Great White Path, reciting his part. (fig. 12, a to g).

[2] The drummers.

[3] Here the Reciter stops almost in front of the drummers facing them and shakes hands with them. All those who are dancing behind him both men and women come up and also shake hands with the drummers, then resume their places behind the leader.

[4] The vague description of the Person (man·it'·u) seen by the visionary leaves its form and character to be imagined by the hearers. The informant for his part took it to mean to him a panther, which would, he thought, be a reasonable inference based upon the allusions by the Reciter. The latter does not like to betray in precise terms the identity of his guardian spirit. [776]

[5] Referring to the center post with the two large carved images, before which he has now taken his stand (see diagram fig. 12, b).

[6] Meaning also the center post.

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how many times, namely four times. And then we shall never cease 539^{x} talking again about that Person. If only it would be that I have good 796 health in the future we would never stop talking about that Person, [787] who spoke, as he said,[1]

[Repeat chant for the sixth time.][2]

Truly indeed my kindred we are enjoying very good fortune when we are given an abundance[3] of pure clean game animals as our spiritual food-offering,[4] as a result of which all shall become happy and contented in mind, when he our Father the Great Spirit has taken pity on us for our devotion.[5] But nevertheless we are pitiful, that is why here at this place we are heard sadly pleading in our Father's House.[6]

That Being continued speaking, saying:[7]

[Repeat the chant for the seventh time.][8]

Now my kindred, we have gone around him, our Grandfather's carved-face. Truly thankful, because even he has taken care of us until now and because we are in good health, including these our children. Now give reverence[9] to our Grandfather. Twice we shall lift up our appeal' ho+ ho+![10]

[Repeat the chant for the eighth time.][11]

And again, my brothers and sisters and also ye children, we have come dancing here to where stand those our Grandfathers, twelve in number all together our Grandfathers,[12] because from here on all the [776] spirit-forces are alike, our grandfather Fire, and that one our mother Water, and all those who support our life with food. It is enough, my

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[1] He raises his hand touching the carved face, and says ho+ ho+, and all who are with him either do the same with their hands or the prayer sticks that they carry.

[2] The inspired Reciter is now standing directly in front of the center post facing the carved image that faces toward the east.

[3] An ancient term, the modern is xahe·li· "plenty."

[4] The term used here, newxpale·tam has a meaning difficult to render, an offering made by the people all together to induce spiritual force.

[5] wi·mbenem'kw·nan, having the meaning, he has pity on us and shows his love and mercy for our act of worship.

[6] mwenda·wan a long house used exclusively for the purpose of religious worship (cp. Penobscot kwunda'wun).

[7] This formality is never omitted nor altered in ending the paragraphs of the address. Some speakers terminate with tam+ tam+ denoting the sound heard when the man·i't·u struck the ground on the horizon. In the case of one reciter, his guardian spirit having assumed the form of a duck, he uttered kwăk kwă, and declared that the echo reached the edge of the horizon.

[8] The Reciter is now facing the other carved image on the center post.

[9] ɔggo·mastam' the term discussed before.

[10] This is the prayer-cry for which the Delawares were known two centuries ago. The speaker now touches the eastern carved face on the center post with his left hand (the rattle is in his right hand), and those standing about him, who were following him around the dancing path in his dance, raise their right hands or the prayer sticks if they have them and give the prayer-cry as he does.

[11] The Reciter now leads his followers around the center post again in a circle, stopping before the eastern carved image as he did before. Kwi "stop," he says to the dancers and drummers, and resumes his sermon.

[12] He is indicating the twelve carved images in the Big House.

V

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH NIGHTS OF THE CEREMONY

[The performance of the usual recitations and dances of the previous nights is repeated.] 539x 796

SEVENTH NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

Now, my kindred, it is the seventh evening come since we have brought in this pure prayer-worship. Now it is very pleasing that we have had good fortune, that these our young men and that he my son "Walking-four-abreast" and "With-Wings"[1] have killed game. I am indeed thankful. On account of it at least we feel pleased, and we use the animal that we offer up as a sacrifice when we are pleading with the Great Spirit.[2] [782]

And it is truly grand that we are having good weather each and every day, on account of which we enjoy good health. When we wake up to another day, when we see him our elder brother the sun how he lights up all this earth, which causes an emotion within us, when we feel the coming warmth of his breath of life. And we are truly thankful when we acknowledge the blessing of the Night-Traveler, our elder brother the Night-Moon.[3] For we have heard the deceased, our ancient people of the past while they were explaining these many things say, according to tradition, "Night-Moon and also those stars, all of them were put in place by him who owns us.[4] That one, our father the Wind, and that one, our mother Water, flowing stream[5] and that one, our grandfather Fire, all are sitting around us; the Spirit-forces.[6] Truly, my kindred, I feel very discouraged, pitiful me. It is unbecoming for me, I feel unable, as it is said, to instruct my own kindred in blessings, so difficult is it now and so heavily are we oppressed. For instance now, when we are about to be touched by these Spirit-forces, the shell-rattles, be careful, my kindred, we must remember that we are praying for a blessing to the Great Spirit. And it is wonderful that he feels sympathy for us, he our father, also our Creator, in those wild animals which he has given us.[7]

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[1] The narrator of the text is assuming that the ceremonial hunt has had a happy conclusion; that the two young men named have been blessed with game.

[2] The informant compared the offering of "wild animal" flesh in this capacity with the Hebraic offering of a pure lamb on the altar. Said he, "It shows the real feeling of the worshipper to offer this pure clean flesh."

[3] It may be recalled here that both the luminaries are moons according to Delaware conceptions.

[4] Another means of designating the Great Spirit.

[5] A metaphor for our mother Water.

[6] Referring to the man-i'tu controlling the world of nature but especially referring to the carved images on the post of the Big House who symbolize the Spirit-force behind everything that possesses life. [776]

[7] In the preceding passage we have an example of the high sounding discourse which the Delaware language is capable of expressing.

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worth much more are their services, because exceedingly heavy is this which we are doing.[1] 539x 776

Hardly, for example, can I tell how precious it is. But, however, we have heard our deceased ancestors as they were speaking about it say, according to the custom, that the labor of the Attendant, when he makes fire, when he feeds us, when he provides plenty of fire wood, and when he sweeps the House clean;—all of this purification is the cause of bringing joy to the One who created us.[2] For now we have moved along toward where the ceremony closes. Let us consider, my kindred, if it would not bring us good health if again next year right here once more we perform the ceremony.

And besides, my kindred, there remains one more matter, something I want to say for you to bear well in mind. It is said traditionally, when any one on Good meditates in his heart, there is formed the thought. And when he thinks of good it is easy to behave well, but when he misbehaves it is the Evil that a person seriously thinks about as concerns his life. It is exceedingly hard because it is necessary that we prepare the soul-spirit in order that we shall be able to take it back home again to where it belongs, to Our Father, when its use is finished here where we live. Here in this place it is the body that shall remain here because here is where it belongs in the ground.[3]

Indeed, my kindred, that is why, as it is said, I plead with you that everyone take part and help me, or call it to my attention if sometimes I forget something. Always have I seen it this way since long ago. Yet at times, as it is said, I feel not to have grasped it sufficiently in mind. That is why, as it is said, I feel well pleased when any one calls my attention to something.

The Attendants must prepare wampum in a wooden bowl and every person shall be given three beads, and every person who wishes to, when he is now leaving to go outdoors, there where sets the hominy mortar may deposit them, whoever has been given these wampum beads. [925]

And now, my kindred, here when for the last time we are touched by these our grandfathers the turtle-rattles, that is the beginning of our concluding act. Now here at last we are ready to end this Our Father's service. And, my kindred, now from hence as we are going home, you must take good care, for you are carrying with you the spirit of Delaware worship. From now on for one year at least, we shall enjoy benefit from all the spirit-forces given us, those on top of the earth and those up above as they were created to have mercy upon us, and besides from him Our Father, the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. This will be all for this time. 539x 776

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[1] The master of ceremonies having now brought the worship to its close now makes his final bow with an eloquent declaration of humility, a summary of the spiritual force of what has been done and an appeal to the loyalty of his tribesmen.

[2] Another designation for the Great Spirit; as the explanation runs, "We are his children." [776]

[3] Mention has already been made, in the introduction, of Delaware eschatology, how it is believed that the heart is the seat of one soul, the blood of another remaining on earth after burial. [775]

Now, my kindred, for the last time we go out to pray, everybody with all his heart. And you know that we shall go out to the east and shall carry with us the wampum that is left unused because that is our heart[1] when we appeal for a blessing to our father with whom belongs the Delaware's soul. And let us consider, every one of us earnestly, as the prayer reaches up above, and we express our faith with this wampum in our heart, because through ten and two levels of the sky we lift our prayer-appeal to where dwells him Our Father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.[2] [illegible] 776

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[1] A short discourse on wampum given in the introduction (page 64) mentions this simile.

[2] Upon this announcement the wampum beads remaining available for this purpose are tied together into one string [the informant remembered when the Big House treasury contained fifteen or twenty strings, or arm lengths, but in recent years the total length has decreased to some twelve or fifteen feet] and held resting on their hands in a line reaching from one end of the row of people to the other as far as it will go. Facing east they raise the prayer-call, six times calling ho·+ and six times hä·+. This concludes the rite.

With this prayer the last word of the Bringer-in who has at the same time been Master of Ceremonies pronounces his last word of formality, his duties are ended before the sun has reached the noon point of the thirteenth day since the worshippers have convened—the termination point established by traditional ruling. And the great ceremony is ended. The assembled families now prepare to betake themselves home. As the Big House is emptied, the ceremonial property is removed by the Attendants, the premises swept out, the doors set in place, the bar posts raised as a symbol of vacancy—a method of "locking up" habitations when the occupants are away in vogue everywhere among Algonkian people. Conveyances are loaded with camping paraphernalia and household goods and the prairie roads become dusty with the passage of the Delaware cortége on its way in various directions to distant homesteads.

NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

539x
Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the 121
course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following nar- [776]
rative in the study. It was dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe in explanation
of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in
the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather 539x
Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a 824
swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for [757
one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that 783]
cedar is used for purifying the house.

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength [776
for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing 757]
is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when
he begs it of him.

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard 539x
our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there 773
were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more

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[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."

[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony: "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).

[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.

[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

276 attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence.
781 It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to
785 face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony.
796 Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote
276 itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, prob-
795 ably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and
778 Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important super-
● [776] natural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

276 The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the
755 cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite per-
795 formed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out
778 that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

178 Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the
276 Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of
795 the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were
common; many children were raised by
586 mother surrogates. "Owing to instability
of the family relationship, children are
often neglected."[9] The father was absent,
581 hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year;
what discipline there was fell to the hand
of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
annual calendar of ceremonies, young
861 children were chased by a man dressed in
a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them
for misdeeds (of which the parents kept
him informed from year to year) by carrying
them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
● [776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be
the "Guardian of the Game" and also
promoted the fertility of the corn; in other
words, was the symbol of the food pro-
855 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from
the mother's supervision as soon as they
were able to get about to play at hunting
and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13]
When a child died, an old woman was
often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights
which could not be secured on demand, a
symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld
benefits and hidden hostility, to the
Delaware, and the source of his generalized,
if inhibited, aggressiveness, and that the
father-figure stood on the horizon, so to
speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but
one too remote and too aloof to be depended
upon.

EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENTS IN MATURITY

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young
man to fall in love with a girl. His family
would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and
come to live with him; and they would live
happily and faithfully ever after. The

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9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

The Guardian Spirit

156 The Delaware could not support a sense
of social disapproval or of disregard. The
great importance attached by Europeans to
conscience was among the Delawares re-
placed by an equal importance attached to
156 "face." When self-esteem needed en-
[787] couragement, the individual dreamed (or
interpreted his dreams as meaning) that
he was great. Zeisberger remarked, "They
[157] are proud and haughty, even a miserable
Indian, capable in no respect, imagines
himself to be a great lord. They hold
themselves in high regard as if they were
capable of great and wonderful things, in
which respect they are much encouraged
by dreams, held among them to be very
significant and, indeed, it would appear
that through dreams Satan holds the
heathen bound and fettered and in close
connection with himself, subjecting them
[797] in this fashion to delusion. All this the
missionaries discover in those who come to
church and who need be thoroughly
humbled before they give up the vain
imaginations concerning themselves."[31]
156 One of the main functions of the guardian
spirit was to buttress the Delaware's opinion
● 776 of himself. "They believe," observed
Zeisberger, "in numerous spirits or sub-
ordinate deities. Almost all animals and
the elements are looked upon as spirits,
one exceeding the other in dignity and
power. There is scarcely an Indian who
156 does not believe that one or more of these
spirits has not been particularly given him
787 to assist him and make him prosper. This,
they claim, has been made known to them
in a dream, even as their religious belief
is alleged to have been made known
to them in a dream. One has, in a dream,

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[31] Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

[P.37,A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were
much more restricted in childhood than
their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware
society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no
power to enforce their wishes, and there
was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent
and could be initiated by either party
simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
● 776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who
regularly punished the wicked and
rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned
rather with a supernatural guardian spirit
who acted as a comrade and friend who
would assist his mortal protege in critical
passes. Shame and pride are more frequent
themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century
Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual
purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical
conduct, but rather . . . through the
observance of taboo regulations prescribed
by ancient rulings."[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
the Delaware often did not develop a
577 strong authoritarian, coercive conscience;
moral values (which certainly were
recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic
character; "good" and "bad" had a light
affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
in less discipline and autocracy than was
626 fashionable in eighteenth century Europe,
was still puzzled as to how a society without
authority could hold together. "Judged by
the mere appearance of the Indians," he
wrote, "one is surprised how modest and
careful they are in relation to each other
and imagines that the whites, if they were
as free a people and had neither
government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians
appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

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[36] Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1776, pp. 20-21.
[37] Speck, 1931, p. 51.
[38] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of
authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding
someone else's self-esteem and thereby
laying himself open to aggression. In order
not to antagonize another, the individual
had to be very circumspect in his behavior
and avoid showing his own aggressive
motives. There were a variety of institutionalized
techniques which functioned
to forestall possible antagonism-arousing
situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and
are always on their guard, so as not to
offend each other," said Heckewelder, and
Zeisberger made similar observations.[39]
[831] Swearing was unknown (although obscenity
was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected
of ill-doing were not accused openly;
public or private disapproval was communicated
by subtle allusions or by the
[609] recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors
were always treated politely; and negative
replies to embassies from other communities
were couched in ambiguous terms so that
the matter was shelved rather than
576 contended over.[42] An elaborate code of
521 etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their
common conversation turns upon hunting
or the news of the day. Matter that has
no foundation in fact may be drawn into
conversation, and even though all may be
aware of this, the narration continues
uninterrupted. They may laugh now and
again but they will listen attentively. No
one interrupts another. When one has
finished another begins. They never put
any one publicly to blush; they are polite
to each other and enjoy being politely
treated. They like to be regarded as worthy
people even though they may be the
opposite. They are pleased to know that
796 they are liked."[43] Religious observances
776 (such as the periodic obligation to give a
dance for a sacred mask) were performed
under an almost obsessive fear that
negligence, by offending the supernatural
owner, would call down an indefinite but

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[39] Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1778, p. 115-116.
[40] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 85.
[41] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 120.
[42] Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
[43] Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, 115-116.

[P.38,A]

776
[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[325] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized
as quasi-human beings engaged in
war with the Indians to legitimize their
killing.[45]

ANTICIPATION OF AGGRESSION

In view of these elaborate cultural
626 devices for avoiding situations where
156 aggressions might come to the surface,
either in one's own self or in others, we
might expect to find considerable anxiety
in everyone over the suspicion that through
some slip he might have aroused the
hostility of an unknown enemy, especially
since in every person there seems to have
been a large amount of diffused aggression
which could easily be projected onto other
[754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance,
was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom
described the Delawares as "mistrustful;"[47]
and both Zeisberger and
[154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate
institutions which functioned to deflect
possible aggression.[48] Parents explained
their reluctance to discipline children by
[861] saying that "the children might remember
it against them and avenge themselves
when they have attained to maturity."[49]
(Zeisberger said that he knew of some
cases where children *did* threaten to punish
their parents for indignities suffered in
childhood.)[50]

TECHNIQUES FOR EXPRESSING AGGRESSION

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the
typical Delaware individual harbored
within himself exceptionally uncomfortable
aggressive impulses which he was afraid
to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression.
The eruption of these aggressions
periodically shattered the equable
facade of social behavior. "They are able
to control their desires and passions,"
observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

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[44] Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
[45] Wallace, 1949.
[46] Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
[47] Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
[48] Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104, Zeisberger 1778, pp. 115-116.
[49] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
[50] Ibid.

535 *Dances of the Delawares*

1. Old Religious Dance
2. Wolf Dance
3. Turtle Dance
4. Chicken Dance
5. Buffalo Dance
6. Bear Dance
7. Doll Baby Dance
8. Horse Dance
9. False Face Dance
10. Dog Dance
11. War Dance
12. Feasting Dance
13. Dance for the Dead
14. Striking the Stick Dance
15. Buzzard Dance
16. Turkey Dance
17. Duck Dance
18. [left blank]
19. Shuffle Dance

773 *Origin of the Three Varieties of the Human Race*

829 Mr. Pratt mentioned to me a Delaware explanation of the creation of the Negro, Indian and White man, to the effect that the Negro was created first, and was, as we say, a mistake or failure; it was the first attempt at man's creation. The Great Spirit next created the Indian, who was admitted to be a great improvement upon the negro; and last of all he created the white man.

The Good Spirit and the Boil

776
753 Mr. Pratt had a boil come on his arm. A Delaware told him he had a good friend, and in explanation said to him that the Evil Spirit had intended to destroy him; that he was followed in his rounds to do mischief to men by a small but good spirit, who continued in various ways to defeat the evil spirit of his purpose, when it was a case in which he wished to save the person from harm. That as the evil spirit was about to put forth his power upon him, the little spirit stepped forward and said to the evil one, "you let me deal with this person," whereupon he took or drew on his invisible bow a small and invisible arrow, and shot

[p52(B)]

776 753 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil. In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[88] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to [582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and [611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small,
by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

Religious System

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[776] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

[90] [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(C)--Analyst]

000 tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here.
595 Two well known Indians have two wives
183 each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a
657 bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

● 776 William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

776 821 1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

[825] 3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thunder. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

776 823 4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

776 [824] 5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Boy Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 721 [824] [821] 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 773 The Great Spirit has the form of a man (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

Gum-mween

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.